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THE DEVELOPMENT OF  
LUBWA MISSION,  
CHINSALI,  
ZAMBIA  
1904-1967

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Ph. D. Thesis

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the religious, social, political and economic impact of Lubwa Mission of the Livingstonia Mission of the (United Free) Church of Scotland. The Livingstonia Mission stressed the education of Africans in practical skills and in particular qualities which were consonant with the Calvinistic ethic. The provision of education was a major method of evangelization. Lubwa Mission used a different model of evangelization from the rival Roman-Catholic White Fathers' Mission. For Livingstonia salvation was through *individual* faith in Christ; for the White Fathers the Sacraments, especially baptism, led to salvation. Lubwa Mission used literacy and intellectual agreement with the contents of the catechism as criteria for admission to church membership. New members were incorporated into the structure of the Mission as teachers, evangelists, catechists, or paid employees of the Mission. The converts were initially mainly young men, exhibiting a westernized style of life (use of language, food habits, clothing, house building, hygiene, child-rearing, relationship with their spouses).

The period following the First World War saw the rapid expansion of the Mission, stimulated by an increased rivalry with the White Fathers Mission in the area of education. It led to rifts between families and clans and within families. The basic unity of the village, based on the kinship structure, was broken. Existing rifts were strengthened. It was a small elite of teachers and evangelists which tried to implement the demands of the Gospel in their daily lives and that of their families.

In the 1940s Lubwa missionaries came under criticism by young mission teachers, who established a Chinsali Branch of the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress at Lubwa. Lubwa 'graduates' opposed plans to amalgamate or federate the Rhodesias. They used the structures of the Church to politicize the district.

In 1955 Lubwa was confronted with a break-away movement, the Lumpa Church, led by Alice Lenshina. Lubwa tried to meet this challenge by trying to transform the heavily institutionalized church, with paid offices, into a movement based on voluntary work. The establishment of a strong women's organization, the KBBK, helped to achieve this goal by the late 1960s. By 1967 Lubwa Church had been fully Africanised. It had also relinquished its role in health care and education.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Annalen der Afrikaansche Missiën</i> (Dutch White Fathers' Magazine)
ALC	African Lakes Company
APC	African Provincial Council
ARC	African Representative Council
ARNA	<i>Annual Reports upon Native Affairs/Native Affairs Annual Report/Annual Report upon African Affairs</i>
ARNE	<i>Annual Report of the Director of Native Education /African Education</i>
BP	Personal collection of papers of Dr D. Brown, with his son David Brown, Stirling, Scotland
CA	<i>Circulaires Abercorn/Circulars Abercorn</i>
CBMS	Conference of British Missionary Societies
CCAP	Church of Central Africa (Presbyterian)
CCAR	Church of Central Africa in Rhodesia
DC	District Commissioner
DCC	District Commissioners Conference
DO	District Officer
DR	Diaries of MacMinn in the possession of his daughter, Doris Rodger, Grahamstown
FMC	Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland
GMC	General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia
IMC	International Missionary Council
LOA	Lubwa Office Archives, Lubwa, Chinsali
LN	<i>Livingstonia News</i>
LTS	Lubwa Training School
MP	<i>Minutes of Presbytery</i> , CCAR
NAS	National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh
NAZ	National Archives of Zambia, Lusaka
NC	Native Commissioner
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
PC	Provincial Commissioner
RA	<i>Rapports Annuels</i> (Pères Blancs)
RHL	Rhodes House Library, Oxford
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies, London

St. 1	Standard I
UCCAR	United Church of Central Africa in Rhodesia
UCZ	United Church of Zambia Archives, UCZ Theological College, Kitwe
WFA	White Fathers Archives, Rome
WTBTS	Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society

GLOSSARY<sup>1</sup>

Ababemba nkomenkome	real Bemba [nkome = guardian, one to whom an object was entrusted]
Ababemba nkonko	Bemba-by-birth, pure Bemba, hundred-percent Bemba
Abacinga	the (original) inhabitants of Icinga
askari	soldier
Bacipinduka	'people who returned', persons who emigrated to another tribe, Abacinga
Bakanyala	'the old people', Abacinga
bana cimbusa	birth attendants, midwives, matrons
banyama (sing. nyama)	cannibals, people who eat human meat
Basungu	
(sing. Musungu)	Europeans, the whites
benamano	wise men, councillors
	(mano = brains, intelligence, common sense)
benamg'andu	members of the Crocodile clan, the royal clan of the Bemba
boma (Swahili)	fortified place, defensible enclosure; later: police or military post, administrative capital of a district, government of a district
cilukaluka dance	champion dance (young men only)
cisungu	appearance of first menstruation, the

<sup>1</sup>. From: *The White Fathers' Bemba-English Dictionary*, 1954, London, and from Bemba speaking informants.

	ceremony performed for girl on that occasion, puberty rites
filundu	bark cloth
fitemene	
(sing. citemene)	slash-and-burn horticulture
fiwa (sing. ciwa)	evil spirits or 'devils'
kapasu	messenger, office orderly
lufuba	spirit shrine, a small hut for spirit worship
male	finger millet (Eleusine coracana)
malaila dance	dance of warriors on return from a successful expedition or of hunters having killed a lion
	(malaila = a chant of triumph)
muchapi (pl. bachapi)	witchfinder
muloshi	wizard, witch
mwafi	poison used in the witch-finding ordeal
ng'anga	traditional healer
ngulu	demon, a secondary divinity; a person possessed by such divinity; animal or big tree supposed to be the abode of a ngulu
shimapepo	priest of Bemba traditional religion, lit. 'father of prayers'
ukubuka	witchfinding
ukupyana	'inheriting', a man inherits the wife of a male member of the same lineage when he dies
ulendo	Swahili: <i>safari</i> , journey, journey of inspection (by missionaries, district officers)
umusumba	capital, chief's village
zironda (Chewa)	cuts, wounds



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### Introduction

This study is chiefly directed towards ecclesiastical history. I aim at analyzing the role and effects of a European mission endeavour in a non-European environment: Chinsali District, north-eastern Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia). The development of the Lubwa Church out of the Lubwa Mission was one of the consequences of this effort.

I was drawn to the topic when working as a history teacher at Kenneth Kaunda Secondary School in Chinsali. What remained of the mission station was situated just on the other side of the Kolwe stream. The research grew out of a project to interest the students in the history of their own personal environment. It appeared that a history of Lubwa Mission had not yet been written. Fergus Macpherson, one time missionary-in-charge at Lubwa and later researcher at the Kenneth Kaunda Foundation, had done research on the history of the Mission while working on a biography of Kenneth Kaunda, President of Zambia and a former student and teacher at Lubwa.<sup>1</sup> However, this study only marginally touches on the history of Lubwa. W. Vernon Stone, like Fergus Macpherson a former missionary at Lubwa, wrote an article on the history of the Mission, in an effort to explain its lack of success vis-à-vis its rival, the independent Lumpa Church in Chinsali District.<sup>2</sup> J. van Velsen stressed as early as 1973 the importance of a thorough study of Lubwa Mission.<sup>3</sup>

The mission is of interest because it provided the environment in which President Kaunda of Zambia grew up, and which contributed to his political and social ideas. Moreover, Lubwa graduates were overrepresented in the movement for independence and in the first governments after independence. Simon Kapwepwe, also a Lubwa graduate and mission teacher, rose to the office of Minister of Foreign Affairs and Vice-President. Robert (later: Kapasa) Makasa became a Minister of Northern Province, High Commissioner to Kenya and later a

<sup>1</sup>. Fergus Macpherson, 1974, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia. The Times and the Man*, Lusaka

<sup>2</sup>. W. Vernon Stone, 1968, *The Livingstonia Mission and the Bemba*, in: *The Bulletin of the Society for African Church History*, 2, 4: 311-322.

<sup>3</sup>. J. van Velsen, 1973, 'Editorial Foreword', in: *The Life of a Zambian Evangelist*, Lusaka (Institute for African Studies, Communication 9).

member of Central Committee of UNIP. *Who's Who in Zambia* 1979 lists six Africans as having had a connection with Lubwa Mission: Hyden Dingiswayo Banda, Lameck Goma, Simon Kapwepwe, Kenneth Kaunda, Kapasa Makasa and Wesley Nyirenda.<sup>1</sup> One could add the names of John Sokoni who became a member of the African Representative Council (ARC) in 1953, Alfred Gondwe, Minister of African Education in a pre-Independence government and Lasford Simukonda, Assistant-Secretary at the Ministry of Education. This contribution to national leadership was due to a great extent to the fact that Lubwa was the educational centre of the Livingstonia Mission in Northern Rhodesia. In the 1930s and 1940s, Lubwa's position in Northern Rhodesia was similar to that of the Overtoun Institution at Khondowe in Nyasaland. This means that it is necessary to analyze the interrelationship between evangelization and education.

Up to 1960 Lubwa Hospital with its extension services provided the lion's share of medical aid in the district. Only at the estate of Shiwa Ng'andu in the southern part of the district was there a private clinic. We will have something to say also about how this health work, based on the modern scientific worldview, competed with the healing activities of the traditional healer, the *ng'anga*.

Yet another reason why Lubwa Mission is of interest is that it stood at the origins of a major African independent church movement, the Lumpa Church of Alice Lenshina. The Lumpa Church split off from Lubwa Church in 1955. Robert Kaunda, mission teacher and elder brother of Kenneth Kaunda, became its Senior Deacon, one of the highest ranking positions, in the movement. The Lumpa Church was then already the largest African-led organisation in the territory. The Church came to an end after clashes with those who had not joined it, and after a violent suppression of the movement by the army, the so-called Lumpa war of 1964. The Lumpa Church had derived several of its tenets from Lubwa. Lubwa Church in turn tried to learn from the success of the Lumpa Church and was transformed into a church based on voluntary work, with a strong women's organisation and with village

<sup>1</sup>. Kelvin Mlenga (ed.), *Who's Who in Zambia*, RCM Ltd (second ed., 1979)

chapels spread all over the district. I will try to provide in this study some insight in the initial reaction of Lubwa towards Lumpa and the influence of the church model of Lumpa, that of a people's movement.

The relationship between the Roman Catholic White Fathers Mission and Bemba chiefs has been studied by Garvey;<sup>1</sup> the present thesis examines the relationship between the Lubwa Mission and the various chiefs of Chinsali District: the Bemba chiefs Nkula, Mwaba, Nkweto and Chewe, and the Bisa chief Chibesakunda. Chief Nkula is a Senior Chief. Chinsali District has also the residence of Shimwalule, the hereditary head priest of the Bemba. He plays an important role in the funeral rites of the most senior chiefs of the ruling bena Ng'andu (the crocodile clan). He prays for the whole tribe and makes sacrifices. All chiefs are under Shimwalule. He is a kind of second king, who rules his own territory.<sup>2</sup> This emphasis on ritual positions suggests that the relationship between the chiefs and the Mission was not always an easy one.

There is quite some literature on the activities of missions and on the religious situation in Northern Rhodesia and Zambia. However, few studies of any part of tropical Africa focus on a single mission station and its influence on a particular district. One could mention Beidelman's study of the Church Missionary Society in Ukaguru, Tanganyika.<sup>3</sup> However, this does not provide a balanced account of the interaction between the missionaries and Africans. Apart from this, Beidelman is not interested in the way an African church emerges from a Christian mission. His aim is solely to analyze the often strained relationships of the European missionaries with the Africans.

Mission studies can make an important contribution to African

<sup>1</sup>. Brian Garvey, 1977, 'Bemba Chiefs and Catholic Missions, 1898-1935', in: *Journal of African History*, 18, 3: 411-426. See also his study on the history of the White Fathers in Northern Zambia: Brian Garvey, 1974, 'The Development of the White Fathers' Mission to the Bemba Speaking Peoples, 1891-1964', Ph. D. Thesis, University of London (unpublished).

<sup>2</sup>. See: Fr. J. Chomba, in: Minutes of Central Deanery Meeting, held at Mulanga Mission, 6 and 7-7-1979 (cyclostyle). Fr. Chomba was trained to succeed as the Bisa Chief Kopa.

<sup>3</sup>. T. O. Beidelman, 1982, *Colonial Evangelism. A Socio-historical Study of an East-African Mission at the Grassroots*, Bloomington

historiography. Together with the colonial administration Christian missions provide the bulk of primary and secondary source-material for the colonial period. This material is in the form of correspondence, diaries, annual reports, financial accounts, minutes, periodicals, books, and photographs and movies. While this is a great advantage it also creates a problem in the sense that this wealth of European-derived information may tip the balance towards a European viewpoint. I am conscious of this and have tried to avoid this pitfall.

Missions played an important role in Africa of the first half of the 20th century. They were often the only agencies to provide modern education. They were intermediaries between a European, cosmopolitan, world view and a traditional world view. Missions propagated a more rationalistic view of life, a new ethic, individualism, a more ascetic attitude. Robert Rotberg wrote in 1965 the first scholarly study in the field of Zambian mission studies.<sup>1</sup> This study covers the whole of the missionary enterprise up to the 1920s. He views missionaries as agents bringing in Western ideas, as accomplices of colonialism. However, this is not altogether true of the Livingstonia missionaries working at Lubwa. Lubwa missionaries on occasion put forward ideas to indigenize the liturgy and worship. They got involved in politics on behalf of African interests and African opinion.

The arrival of Christianity in Central, Eastern and Southern Africa coincided with the advent of colonial rule. Where the missionaries preceded the establishment of colonial rule they were often welcomed by the African rulers and used to provide intelligence about the advancing Europeans and played the role of mediators. In this way these missionaries facilitated the establishment of the Pax Brit annica. Bishop Dupont played such a role first for Chief Makasa and then for Chief Mwamba. Rotberg (1965) quotes with obvious delight instances of missionaries taking the law into their own hands and establishing a kind of theocracy (or better: a hierocracy). Among others he refers to the Church of Scotland in Nyasaland, the London Missionary Society in

<sup>1</sup>. R. I. Rotberg, 1965, *Christian Missionaries and the Creation of Northern Rhodesia 1885-1924*, Princeton

North-Eastern Rhodesia and the White Fathers under Bishop Dupont in central Bembaland. Dupont even claimed to have concluded a treaty in which sovereignty was handed over to him by the dying Chief Mwamba. Rotberg's 'collaborationist hypothesis' is more or less shared by Kwidini<sup>1</sup>, Tiberondwa<sup>2</sup>, and Muga<sup>3</sup>.

One might blame the missionaries for not quite bringing the Gospel they preached into practice. However, for the majority of African Christians it was clear on the whole that the Christian message did not favour a colour bar or racial discrimination. Contrary to the collaborationist hypothesis this study proposes the view that missionaries played a relatively independent role between Africans and the colonial government. Not infrequently they saw themselves as spokesmen for the voiceless Africans whose interests they tried to present to the government. Thus, for instance, Lubwa missionaries played an important role in the General Missionary Conference (GMC) of Northern Rhodesia, which functioned as an instrument of pressure upon the government. On the items covered by the GMC on a territory wide level were: the scale of the hut tax, the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia, and direct rule by the Colonial Office against British South Africa Company rule. In addition to this it pleaded in favour of increased government participation in African education and health care.

Missions helped to form a new class of teachers, evangelists, clerks, craftsmen, church elders, and church ministers. These aspects are covered by Charles Guthrie in his thesis on the role of the new elite in Mwenzo, a sister station of Lubwa Mission. His focus is on the economic and political role of the mission elite. Although my study discusses politics too, it does so in a different way, and it pays ample attention to the effects of evangelization, education and health care provided by Lubwa in the district, the relationship with the independent Lumpa

<sup>1</sup>. D. J. Kwidini, 1970, *The Missionary Factor in Rhodesian Native Policy, 1910-1937*, M. Litt. Thesis, Cambridge (unpublished)

<sup>2</sup>. A. K. Tiberondwa, 1978, *Mission Teachers as Agents of Colonialism. A Study of Their Activities in Uganda, 1877-1925*, Lusaka

<sup>3</sup>. E. Muga, 1975, *African Response to Western Christian Religion. A Sociological Analysis of African Separatist Religions and Political Movements in East-Africa*, Nairobi

Church, and the relationship with the African National Congress (ANC) and the United National Independence Party (UNIP). I show that Lubwa Mission helped to form the class of people which provided the leadership for the struggle for independence in the 1940s and 1950s.

Mission studies initially concentrated on the actions and reflections of European missionaries.<sup>1</sup> It has recently been shown, however, that African evangelists, catechists, teachers, church ministers, and leaders of organization for women played a major role in the mission and the church. This for instance is the approach of Pirouet<sup>2</sup> and Verstraelen-Gilhuis<sup>3</sup>. These African Christians performed an important, though often ungrateful, task. They were the true intermediaries between two often clashing cultures and value systems. They belonged to both worlds. They had, more than others, accepted the Christian message and its concomitant values. Though teachers, church ministers or priests they would often still feel the colour bar used against them, at least until the late 1950s. They were able to understand the problems posed for many of their fellow-Africans by some tenets and practical implications of the Christian religion. Christian worship was to replace the traditional, ancient rites. But this could provoke the anger of the ancestral spirits, with grave, and possibly lethal consequences. The mission church did not provide tangible means against the perceived supernatural threats of witches and wizards. In fact the new Europeanized class, with its relative wealth and different life style, could easily become the target of feelings of jealousy and be suspected of having used witchcraft to reach this elevated status. This is in fact what happened several times at Lubwa Mission.

The stress on the role of the African elite in the missionary enterprise has led to a change in research methods. For the earlier period African produced diaries, correspondence or published documents

<sup>1</sup>. See L. H. Gann, 1964, *A History of Northern Rhodesia. Early Days to 1953*, London, and M. Gelfand, 1961, *Northern Rhodesia in the Days of the Charter. A Medical and Social Study, 1878-1924*, Oxford

<sup>2</sup>. M. L. Pirouet, 1978, *Black Evangelists. The Spread of Christianity in Uganda 1891-1914*, London

<sup>3</sup>. G. Verstraelen-Gilhuis, 1982, *From Dutch Mission Church to Reformed Church in Zambia*, Franeker



are hardly available. Interviews thus provided the only alternative to bring in the African point of view. In my study I use 22 interviews. My first interviews with Africans who had a leading part in the development of Lubwa Church took place before I had any opportunity to study the written primary and secondary sources. Although this prevented me from asking some much needed specific questions, I had the advantage of approaching the matter with an unbiased mind. It helped me to interpret the written documents; it provided a 'hermeneutical key.' Working with oral sources has its own problems. How far is the knowledge of the interviewees independent of each other? How far will the interviewee give the socially desirable answer? What are his/her expectations of the role and function of the interviewer? Has published secondary material interfered with the views of the interviewee? How far is the memory of the interviewees reliable a long time after the events took place? How far are historical events reconstructed because of later experiences?

Some mission studies in the 1980s applied neo-marxist (or rather: a neo-marxian) theory to the subject of religion in Africa. The approach has the advantage that it provides an integrative framework for economic, social and religious studies. Key concepts are: basic structure and superstructure, modes of production, relations of production, exploitation, underdevelopment, capitalism and imperialism. The marxian approach is interested in topics like: 'the possible role of mission theology in the growth of capitalist norms in African society' (Sean Morrow)<sup>1</sup>. Van Binsbergen studies 'the role of an independent church (Lumpa) as a form of supernatural reconstruction to create alternative relations of production to negate the capitalist relations.'<sup>2</sup> In this study van Binsbergen tries to integrate political, economic, social and religious factors involved in the development of the Lumpa Church and its relations with the movement for independence. The study

<sup>1</sup>. Sean Morrow, 1983, 'Christianity and Capitalism. The London Missionary Society in Northern Zambia to 1914', Ph. D. Thesis, University of Sussex (unpublished). See also: his, 'Policy and Practice: The Economic Role of the London Missionary Society in Northern Rhodesia to 1914', in: *Zambia Journal of History* (Lusaka), 1 (1981): 15-31.

<sup>2</sup>. W. van Binsbergen, 1981, *Religious Change in Zambia: Exploratory Studies*, London and Boston (first ed. Haarlem, 1979)

provides valuable insights. Calmettes (1978)<sup>1</sup> studies the Lumpa Church from a similar perspective. The Lumpa Church is seen as an effort at rural reconstruction and studied in its relations with other churches, the chiefs and the politicians. However, these studies do not invalidate the historical study by Andrew Roberts of the Lumpa Church.<sup>2</sup> There is an apparent disadvantage to the marxian approach in mission studies or in religious studies, namely that it is difficult to understand for the uninitiated, because of its vocabulary. My main objection to the approach is that a marxian analysis may be suitable to analyze a very differentiated, developed, industrializing society like 19th century Britain, but not very suitable to analyze traditional societies with a low level of technology, with a diffuse concept of ownership of land, and the virtual absence of other capital goods. The approach runs the risk of reductionism, the overlooking of facts because they do not fit into the theory.

Another aspect which has been neglected to a great extent is the role of women. Hugo Hinfelaar<sup>3</sup> has recently produced a major study on the development of Bemba religion and its interaction with mission Christianity. He is mainly interested in the influence of the Roman Catholic mission. He looks into the changing role of Bemba women in society since the coming of Christianity. He devotes a separate chapter to the role of Bemba women in the Lumpa Church in Chinsali District. In my study I will look at the role of women in mission education, in church management, and in the evangelization work. I build on the insights of scholars like Roberts, Calmettes, van Binsbergen, and Hinfelaar in their analysis of the Lumpa Church. In my study I study the Lumpa Church from the perspective of an African-led mission church. I also try to look for the reasons for the final schism between the two churches.

In my study I will study four aspects of Lubwa Mission: (1) the role

<sup>1</sup>. J. L. Calmettes, 1978, 'The Lumpa Sect, Rural Reconstruction and Conflict', M. Sc. Thesis, Aberystwyth (unpublished)

<sup>2</sup>. A. D. Roberts, 1970, 'The Lumpa Sect Church of Alice Lenshina,' in: R. I. Rotberg and A. A. Mazrui (eds.), *Protest and Power in Black Africa*, New York: 513-568, reprinted as pamphlet, Lusaka, 1972

<sup>3</sup>. Hugo Hinfelaar, 1989, 'Religious Change Among Bemba-Speaking Women of Zambia', Ph. D. Thesis, University of London (unpublished)

of education, (2) mission Christianity and African culture and traditional beliefs, (3) the mission and the nationalist movement, and (4) its relationship with the Roman Catholic White Fathers' Mission.

(1) Almost without exception the first educational institutions in Southern and Central Africa were established by Christian missions. Initially this education did not consist of more than what was needed to understand the Scriptures or the basic doctrines of the Church. Later, however, the missionary societies began to see education as having a value in itself. Snelson<sup>1</sup> and Mwanakatwe<sup>2</sup> have written about the development of education in Northern Rhodesia and Zambia. My study is complementary to that of Snelson and looks into the details at local level of the education offered by the mission and some of its effects.

(2) Several Livingstonia missionaries, like Rev. D. Maxwell Robertson of Lubwa Training School, did not use a dichotomic model between African traditional religion and its cultural expressions and Christianity. Often the expression was that the mission was building on what already existed: the belief in *Lesa* as Creator God. This found also expression in the way Lubwa missionaries and their African counterparts translated the Bible. For the word 'spirit' (Hebrew: *Ruach*; Greek: *pneuma*) the Bemba word *Umupashi* was used, a word which originally meant an ancestor who had passed on. The Roman Catholics tried to avoid these associations with Bemba traditional religion and translated spirit with the Swahili word *Roho*. For the leading African Protestant Christians, Christianity meant a continuity and not a break with the past. However, this positive attitude of some missionaries and many African Christians does not mean that the Mission or the Church had an effective pastoral response to the problem of the belief and practice of witchcraft. This issue provided a dilemma for the Church, which the independent Lumpa Church tried to address by new rituals.

(3) The form of education provided by Lubwa Mission encouraged independent thinking. The aim of the Mission was a self-governing, self-

<sup>1</sup>. P. D. Snelson, 1974, *Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia*, Lusaka (first edition Ndola, 1970)

<sup>2</sup>. J. M. Mwanakatwe, 1974 (second ed.), *The Growth of Education in Zambia Since Independence*, Lusaka

extending and self-supporting church African church. David Cook has shown the close links between Livingstonia Mission and welfare associations.<sup>1</sup> I show that such a link also exists between Lubwa Mission and the political movement of African protest against the amalgamation and federation of the Rhodesias in the late 1940s and early 1950s. This protest movement developed into better organized independence parties, the African National Congress (ANC) and the United National Independence Party (UNIP). Education also affected agriculture and life-style. New crops were introduced. A new type of house, rectangular and with a verandah, were constructed. Hygiene was taught.

(4) From the very beginning of the expansion of Livingstonia Mission into Chinsali District there was a rivalry with the Roman Catholic White Fathers' Mission established ten years earlier in the Bemba heartland around Kasama. This rivalry continued almost during the whole period of the history of Lubwa Mission. This also led to the formation of folk myths, which I will analyze in this study.

As sources for this study I used interviews, discussions and correspondence with mission teachers, priests and missionaries, who played a role in the development of Lubwa Mission. My written sources derive from: (1) the headquarters of Livingstonia Mission at Khondowe, (2) the headquarters of the (United Free) Church of Scotland Mission in Glasgow, later: Edinburgh, (3) missionaries, educationalists and medical doctors at Lubwa Mission and at Mwenzo and Chitambo Missions, (4) the boma at Chinsali, (5) the various government departments at the capital of North-Eastern/Northern Rhodesia first Fort Jameson (Chipata), then Livingstone, and Lusaka, (6) missionaries (White Fathers) at Chilubula, Chilonga, Malole, Ilondola, Mulanga, Mulilansolo Missions, and Carthage, later Rome, and (7) other organisations. The material I studied consists of: annual reports, station diaries, correspondence, circular letters, district notebooks, statistical material, budgets and accounts, other unpublished manuscripts and photographs. This material is

<sup>1</sup>. D. J. Cook, 1975, 'The Influence of Livingstonia Mission upon the Formation of Welfare Associations in Zambia, 1912-1931', in: T. O. Ranger and J. Weller (eds.), *Themes in the Christian History of Central Africa*, London

located in Malawi, in Zomba (National Archives); in Zambia, in Kitwe (UCZ Theological College), Chinsali (Lubwa church office), Chitambo (the hospital), Lusaka (the National Archives); in England, in London (SOAS) and Oxford (Rhodes House); in Scotland, in Edinburgh (National Library of Scotland and Edinburgh University Library); in Italy, in Rome (White Fathers' Archives). I found privately held material in South Africa, in Grahamstown (Mrs. Rodgers); in Scotland, in Stirling (David Brown) and Dumfries (Rev. William McKenzie); and in England, in Worcester (Mrs. E. Nelson).

The worldwide scattering of material on the development of the church in Chinsali District shows the cosmopolitical influences on this rural district: Roman Catholic and Presbyterian, Scottish, South African, Dutch, German, French, English, and Malawian. Sources not previously used are, among others: the manuscript of an unfinished biography of Dr David Brown based on his extensive circular letters, and an extensive manuscript of a biography of Bishop Dupont based on his personal diaries and on very early station diaries. (This manuscript was proofread by Dupont himself shortly before his death.) Rev. W. Mackenzie gave me a copy of the letter written by the church council of Lubwa to expel (or rather: suspend) Alice Lenshina from Lubwa Church and a copy of the reply by Lenshina, on letter-headed paper borrowed from Lubwa Training School! Mrs. Rodgers, daughter of the first Scottish missionary at Lubwa (1913-1931), lent me the personal diaries of her father. These give much detail on the period that he was living in Glasgow (1947-1948), when he was engaged in the proofreading for the first complete Bemba Bible published in 1956.

I want to make special mention of the large collections of photographs on the history of Lubwa mission. Some of these are held by children and grandchildren of Lubwa missionaries. A major collection can be found in the White Fathers Archives in Rome. When I visited these archives the photographs were not sorted in such a way that I could easily find those dealing with Chinsali District. The Livingstonia Depot at the National Archives of Malawi in Zomba has also a photographic collection, but these photographs do not relate to Lubwa

Mission. The photographs held by the Church of Scotland headquarters have recently been moved to the National Library of Scotland. These photographs can provide a primary source to show the practice of education, the organisation of women, evangelistic rallies, the life-style of missionaries and the means of transport.

I feel that in the area of mission studies there is now room for micro studies like this one. The focus is not only on the 'missionary factor', but also on the emergence of a truly African expression of Christianity.

## CHAPTER ONE

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### ‘A LONE OUTPOST’

1904-1925

## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The history of Lubwa Mission in Chinsali District is part of the history of Livingstonia Mission. This missionary society was founded one month after the funeral of David Livingstone in Westminster Abbey in April 1874. James Stewart, Principal of the Lovedale Institution, South Africa, was one of Livingstone's pall bearers. He had already as early as 1862 explored the Shire highlands, with the help of Livingstone, to establish a Free Church Mission there.<sup>2</sup> Stewart, in a speech to the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, recommended the establishment of a mission station at the southern end of Lake Nyasa. This mission station could 'grow into a town, and afterwards into a city and become a great centre of commerce and civilisation and Christianity. And this I would call Livingstonia.'<sup>3</sup> The Livingstonia Mission of the Free Church of Scotland (FCS) was 'to finish the work, that he [Livingstone] began.' It got the support of some important Scottish industrialists and businessmen, and had as its aim: 'to act as an auxiliary to commercial ventures', 'to smooth away obstacles in the path of economic progress', 'to educate Africans in technical skills and in the qualities of thrift, self-reliance and hard work.'<sup>4</sup> This was completely in line with Livingstone's idea of bringing not only Christianity to Central Africa, but also commerce, to evangelize the people and to provide at the same time employment and development. In its mission work, therefore, Livingstonia gave preference to people with practical skills. Among the missionaries sent out during the first 25 years, less than half were ordained and medical staff.<sup>5</sup> In 1875 Livingstonia opened a station at the south end of Lake Malawi at Cape Maclear, the place suggested by James Stewart. In 1881 the main

<sup>1</sup>. The title of this chapter is derived from a title of a chapter in the book of J. H. Morrison, no date (1919?), *Streams in the Desert. A Picture of Life in Livingstonia*, London, describing the life of the MacMinns at Lubwa Mission on the eve of the First World War. For the Kaundas, coming from Malawi, Chinsali was also, in a similar way, 'a lone outpost.'

<sup>2</sup>. Peter Bolink, 1967, *Towards Church Union in Zambia*, Franeker: 21.

<sup>3</sup>. John McCracken, 1977, *Politics and Christianity in Malawi 1875-1940*, Cambridge: 27.

<sup>4</sup>. K. J. McCracken, 1964, 'Livingstonia as an Industrial Mission, 1875-1900', in: *Religion in Africa*, Edinburgh, Centre of African Studies: 5.

<sup>5</sup>. K. J. McCracken, 1964: 5. Also: John McCracken, 1977, *Politics*: 33.



station was moved north to Bandawe. In the same year James Stevenson, a Scottish industrialist, provided the mission with £ 4,000 for the construction of a road which would connect the north end of Lake Malawi with the southern end of Lake Tanganyika, on condition that a mission station would be established alongside this road. This road, the Stevenson road, built by James Stewart in 1882-1883, could link up the mission work of Livingstonia with that of the London Missionary Society.<sup>1</sup> In 1882 Dr Kerr Cross and Rev James Bain tried to establish a mission station, Mweniwanda, on the Stevenson Road.<sup>2</sup> The station had to be closed because of activities of slave traders in the area.

## 2. The scramble for the Bemba

In October 1894 the Livingstonia Mission chose a site at Khondowe, on the lake shore north of Bandawe, for the Overtoun Institution, which was to train teachers, clerks and craftsmen.<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile, in September Alexander Dewar from Livelezi in southern Ngoniland, had been sent to North-Eastern Rhodesia to establish Mwenzo Mission. Mwenzo (heart) was the name given to the mission as the place, near the source of the Congo, Chambeshi and Luangwa rivers, was considered to be 'in the heart of Africa.'<sup>4</sup> The station was established in January 1895. Dewar was assisted by John Banda and two other African church members from Bandawe, one of whom was sent by the Bandawe Church as a missionary. Rev Dewar soon tried to reach 'the dreaded Wemba tribe.' In September 1896 he asked Dr Prentice, who had stayed in Mwenzo from May to September 1896, to support his proposal to begin a mission among the Bemba. Lord Overtoun offered the Foreign Mission Committee

<sup>1</sup> J. Fairley Daly, 1903, *Missions of the UFCS. Livingstonia Mission*, Edinburgh: 53-4, 55. The road was to be ten feet wide. Also: John McCracken, 1977, *Politics*: 72.

<sup>2</sup> R. Sampson (comp.), 1955, *They Came to Northern Rhodesia*, Lusaka: 2, 9.

<sup>3</sup> John McCracken, 1977, *Politics*: 33.

<sup>4</sup> J. Fairley Daly, 1903, *Missions*: 55-6. Hugo Hinfelaar gives 'fear' (of the Bemba) as the meaning of Mwenzo. This is based on oral information (Hinfelaar, H. F., 1989, *Religious Change Among Bemba-Speaking Women of Zambia*, Ph. D. Thesis, London: 65, note 7). A third explanation of the name Mwenzo exists: the hero-chief Musyani came from the north, from the land of the Bisa to build his capital there. He said then: *Nazengo mwenzo*, I have built this of my own free will (F. Macpherson, n.d.(1963?), *Fifty Years' Story in Northern Rhodesia. Jubilee of the Lubwa Mission*, Edinburgh).

the salary of the missionary if one would be sent.<sup>1</sup> In that year the Dewars had an encounter with a raiding party of Bemba, who had put human heads on poles to terrify them.<sup>2</sup> In the middle of November 1896 Rev Dewar prepared a journey to the Bemba to try to cross the Chambeshi River. This effort failed because his carriers threatened to leave him, after one week's journey, sixty miles from Mwenzo and two days from Shimwalule, the Bemba high priest.<sup>3</sup> In November 1896 a special meeting of the Mission Council of Livingstonia Mission was held at Khondowe to discuss the proposal of Dewar for a mission to the Bemba.<sup>4</sup> This was inconclusive.

By this time, the area was beginning to be subjected to colonial rule. In 1890-1 Britain had concluded treaties with Germany, Portugal and Belgium to define 'spheres of influence' in Central Africa. From 1892-1898 the British South Africa Company (BSAC), as a chartered company on behalf of Britain, managed to get control over North Eastern Zambia with minimal costs in man-power and money. In 1892 Chienji and Kalungwisi, and in 1893 Abercorn were opened as stations of the Company. Late in 1895 Major P. W. Forbes, the Deputy Administrator,

<sup>1</sup> M. M. S. Ballantyne and R. W. Shepherd (eds), 1968, *Forerunners of Modern Malawi*, Alice: 200. Lord Overtoun was Chairman of the Livingstonia Committee. He succeeded his father in this post. He served Livingstonia from 1883 till his death on 15 February 1908. He had then contributed an amount of at least £ 50,000. (*Livingstonia Mission. Report for 1907*: x). By 1908 Lord Overtoun had undertaken the financial responsibility of four of the 43 European missionaries (*Livingstonia News*, 1, 2 [April] 1908: 9).

<sup>2</sup> J. Fairley Daly, 1903, *Missions*: 56-7. A more extensive description of this encounter is given in A. D. Roberts, 1973, *A History of the Bemba*, London: 253, note 202.

<sup>3</sup> J. Fairley Daly, 1903: 56, where the year 1895 is given for Dewar's attempt. Roberts (1973, *A History of the Bemba*: 267, note 70) gives November 1896. There could have been more than one attempt. See also: *Livingstonia Mission. Report for 1896*: 30. Sampson, however, wrongly gives 1896 as the year in which Rev. Dewar entered North Eastern Rhodesia. Sampson mentions that Dewar was noted for his fearless travelling among the Bemba, suggesting that there was more than one effort at contact (R. Sampson, [comp.], 1955, *They Came to Northern Rhodesia*: 11).

<sup>4</sup> M. M. S. Ballantyne and R. W. Shepherd (eds.), 1969, *Forerunners*: 200. F. Macpherson suggests that the Livingstonia Mission Council had already approved in its session of June 1895 a plan of Dewar to move south from Mwenzo to Mwanga (sc. Mubanga) country to 'seek an opening among the Awemba' (F. Macpherson, 1974, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia*: 32). The Bemba chief concerned was Mubanga Chele, who died in 1912. The Bemba chief, who conquered the area, was Lombe Shyula, a son of Mwamba I (A. D. Roberts, 1973, *A History of the Bemba*: 196n, 229n, 257). It is possible that the name of the title of the Bemba Chief *Mubanga* (or '*Mwanga*') is derived from the conquest by the Bemba in or about 1870 of Chilinda from the Bena Mwanga (Information Dr Hugo Hinfelaar WF, in letter to author, 11-11-1989).

opened a station of the BSAC at Ikawa, near Fife. Nyala, at the head of the Luangwa Valley, was established as a substation of Ikawa. In December 1895 BSA troops defeated Mlozi, the Swahili slaver who controlled the northern part of Malawi, and hanged him. Those Swahili who managed to escape from Karonga, established themselves at the Arab settlement of 'Kapandansalu' near Chibale's on the Luangwa. This became then the most important Swahili stronghold in the area. Early in 1896 Chief Mubanga Chele of Chilinda visited Ikawa to establish contacts with the BSAC. In the course of 1896 Company troops intercepted several slave caravans and released the slaves and confiscated the ivory they were carrying. In 1897 company agents had an encounter with Arabs and a coalition of Bemba from Mwamba, Ndakala and Nkula at Chibale. They managed to chase them away.<sup>1</sup> This eliminated the Swahili as a factor of power in the area. The Company was however not yet able to occupy the whole of Bembaland by military force as it was trying to quell the Ndebele Rising and the Shona Rebellion in Southern Rhodesia.<sup>2</sup>

At the end of 1896 Chief Mwamba sent messengers to McKinnon, the BSAC agent at Fife (Ikawa), asking for 'a white medicineman at his capital, who can cure their ills and heal their 'zironda' (wounds, cuts).' Dewar considered this 'a golden opportunity.'<sup>3</sup> However, the Bemba chief Makasa had by then already accepted a mission station of the Roman Catholic White Fathers in his area. The efforts of Livingstonia to establish itself among the Bemba were discontinued when Dewar went on furlough in August 1897. At the beginning of 1899 Dewar was transferred to Karonga. In December 1900 Dr J. A. Chisholm and his wife took

<sup>1</sup>. NAZ BS1/132 Young (Chiwale's) to McKinnon; McKinnon to Capt. Daly, Acting Administrator (1897).

<sup>2</sup>. A. D. Roberts, 1973, *A History of the Bemba*: 255-259, and C. Gouldsbury and H. Sheane, 1911, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, London: 42-44. Also: A. J. Hanna, 1956, *The Beginnings of Nyasaland and North Eastern Rhodesia, 1859-1895*, Oxford: 206-265, and: Robert Young, 1953, 'Bobo Young relates his Exploits', in: *Northern Rhodesia Journal (NRJ)*, 2, 2: 65-71.

<sup>3</sup>. *Livingstonia Mission. Report for 1896*: 30-31, and A. D. Roberts, 1973, *A History of the Bemba*: 262. Dewar, wrongly, considered Mwamba the apparent heir to the paramountcy. Roberts (1973: 269-270) mentions the possibility that at least some Bemba chiefs tried to play off the Livingstonia Mission against the White Fathers' Mission. Chief Makasa could be an example.

over in Mwenzo.<sup>1</sup> Some Bemba, attracted by the education offered by Livingstonia, went by themselves to the mission. In 1903 one Bemba from near Lake Mweru went to Bandawe to attend school there. In August 1904 four other Bemba came to Bandawe to study. Two of them were sent to the Institution at Khondowe to study there.<sup>2</sup> In September 1904 catechumens from the White Fathers' mission at Chilonga (established in 1899) left in order to join Protestant schools 'where English was taught.'<sup>3</sup>

### 3. The beginning of work in Chinsali District

In order to reach the Bemba and also to forestall the expansion of the White Fathers in North-Eastern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, James Henderson suggested increasing the use of African teachers and evangelists 'to occupy an area.' European missionaries would follow in their trail and claim temporary occupation. This would allow Livingstonia to have the area included in their missionary sphere of influence.<sup>4</sup> In 1903 Henderson sent 53 senior students of the Institution at Khondowe as volunteers to the Marambo country, the unreached area west of Khondowe.<sup>5</sup> In August 1904 a group of 24 students in teacher-training at the Institution and one evangelist moved in their school holidays further west of Khondowe into Bemba- and Bisaland. David Kaunda was one of these students. The group included two Christian Bemba who had some years ago been rescued from a slave caravan near Mwenzo on its way from Bemba country and had been sent as orphans to the Institution where they had

<sup>1</sup>. J. Fairley Daly, 1903, *Missions*: 57. Dewar seems to have felt disappointed by the lack of progress with the mission to the Bemba. After a quarrel with Dr Chisholm in 1905 he resigned from the Livingstonia Mission and joined the Free Church mission to Kaffraria in South Africa in 1908 (NLS 7865: 66 and 179; 7866: 531 Livingstonia Letterbook of J. Fairley Daly). He was Moderator of the Free Church of Scotland in 1927-8 (R. I. Rotberg, 1965, *Christian Missionaries*: 170).

<sup>2</sup>. *Livingstonia Mission. Report for 1905*: 32 (A. G. MacAlpine). See also: W. Vernon Stone, 1968, 'The Livingstonia Mission and the Bemba', in: *The Bulletin of the Society for African Church History*, 2, 4: 313.

<sup>3</sup>. Hugo Hinfelaar, 1989, 'Religious Change': 73 nt. 79, quoting Chilonga Diary, September 1904.

<sup>4</sup>. NLS 7865: 40 Daly to James Henderson, Livingstonia, 23-9-1904.

<sup>5</sup>. *Livingstonia Mission. Report for 1903*: 8.

received their teacher training.<sup>1</sup> Seven bigger villages were occupied for a period of three months, while most of the other villages were visited. David Kaunda stayed in Fonkofonko on the Luvu River, close by the place where ten years later Lubwa Mission would be established. James Henderson, accompanied by an evangelist, also visited the area. From the seven centres young men were taken to the Institution to receive a training to carry on the evangelistic work.<sup>2</sup> The group produced a report which was very favourable about the prospects for evangelisation.

'These Bemba are very ready to receive Christ as their King... I and Samson were teaching and preaching in Chibesa Village; the chief of the Babiza (sc. Bisa) people and many others came around to hear that God loves them as well as ourselves. When I returned from the west I went to Katizi; there also I opened a new school. The Katizi people are much desiring to have a teacher of their own - I mean a teacher who may stay there for years.'<sup>3</sup>

Following this report the Livingstonia Mission Committee sanctioned the opening of a mission station in Chinsali District, to be established 'probably somewhere on the Luvu tributary of the Chambezi [Chambeshi]...' There was however no European missionary available to man this proposed station.<sup>4</sup> Following Henderson's new policy of giving more responsibilities to African teachers and evangelists it was suggested to send David Julizya Kaunda and his wife Helen Jengwera Nyirenda to Chinsali to open a school and start mission work.

Julizya Kaunda was born at Lisali in Tongaland. In 1885 he and his mother moved to Elangeni, a large Ngoni village. At nearby Njuyu,

<sup>1</sup>. *Livingstonia Mission. Report for 1905*: 117. These Bemba rescued from a slave caravan must have gone to Khondowe before 1899; the last slave caravan was intercepted by the British in March 1898 in Nsenga country (L. H. Gann, 1964, *A History*: 83). Several large slave caravans were intercepted in 1896 by Ikawa Collector Bell and his assistant Drysdale (Cullen Gouldbury and Hubert Sheane, 1911, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, London: 41).

<sup>2</sup>. *Livingstonia Mission. Report for 1905*, p. 9: 'Rev. James Henderson, M. A. reports'

<sup>3</sup>. NAM LM Letters to the Sub-Committee, 2nd quarter, 1905, p. 40. The letter was signed 'S. S. M.' It is not clear where Katizi is situated. There was a village called Katwisi to the East of Chibesakunda's village. It was entirely devastated during the Lumpa disturbances (Hugo Hinfelaar in letter to author, 11-11-89).

<sup>4</sup>. NAM LM Letters to the Sub-Committee: 13, para. 74 and :14 para. 80. Also: 57 para. 27 Laws to Codrington, Livingstonia, 28-4-1905.

Julizya Kaunda was baptized and christened David. He was admitted as a student to the Overtoun Institution at Livingstonia in May 1898, finished his Standard (St.) 6 in 1904 and his teacher training in April 1905. He was then 27 years old.<sup>1</sup> Helen Nyirenda was also a teacher. David Kaunda arrived in Chinsali District in August 1905, together with his wife, and Hezekiah Nkonjera, another teacher, who was a freed Bemba slave.<sup>2</sup> The Native Commissioner, R. A. ('Bobo') Young, received them well and built a house and a school building for them.<sup>3</sup>

This led to a protest by Bishop Dupont of the White Fathers, who wrote to Robert Codrington, the BSAC's Administrator of N. E. Rhodesia, that the White Fathers had been promised the area.<sup>4</sup> Dupont had visited Chilinda and Mwalule in October 1897 and Ichinga in June 1898, but then considered the area too thinly populated to establish a mission post there.<sup>5</sup> Instead Chilonga Mission was established in September 1899 in the area of the Bemba chiefs Chikwanda and Luchembe. Codrington wrote to Dr Laws in July 1904 that he was against the move of Livingsto-

<sup>1</sup>. F. Macpherson, 1974, *Kenneth Kaunda*: 28-9, and the Livingstonia Institution Roll Book: 188, entry 241 (NAM; copy at UCZ)

<sup>2</sup>. LOA Church Roll. The Presbyterian Church of Central Africa. Lubwa Congregation, 1917 to 1947. According to Patrick Mushindo Hezekiah Nkonjera was a Bemba slave ransomed by Dr Laws (also: UCZ 1014 A Short History of Lubwa Mission). Hezekiah went later in government service and died in Kawambwa (Information Patrick Mushindo, September 1983). According to Robert Kaunda Hezekiah was the brother-in-law of David Kaunda (Interview Robert Kaunda, 1-12-1979). In the first year, from July 1905 to September 1906, they may have had some assistance from Levi Mumba, a graduate of the new commercial course of the Overtoun Institution. He was employed as a clerk at the Chinsali Boma (John McCracken, 1977, *Politics*: 260-261). Levi Mumba played an important role in the founding of the North Nyasa Native Association in 1912. He also encouraged the founding of the Mwenzo Welfare Association at about the same time.

<sup>3</sup>. TI Robert Kaunda, 1-12-79, and *Livingstonia Report for 1905*: 8.

<sup>4</sup>. J. M. Mwanakatwe, 1974 (second ed.), *The Growth of Education*: 12. Brian Garvey (1974: 238) gives 9-7-1904 as the date of Dupont's protest to Codrington about Kaunda's intrusion in Bemba territory. This would be a very quick reaction as the Livingstonia teachers had then just entered the area. Codrington had authorized Dupont to establish a mission among the Senga (l'Origine des missions Nyassa-Bangweolo, Rome, WFA: 226). This could refer to Chilonga Mission established in 1899 near Chikwanda. According to McKinnon Chikwanda had established himself as chief among the Senga, taking over in 1889 Ndakala's old place (NAZ BS 1/132 McKinnon, Ikawa to Capt. Daly, Blantyre, 14-3-1898) There may have been here some confusion, as Ndakala had taken over Mutambe, the country of the Bisa Chief Chibesakunda. Chibesakunda himself went then to live to the north-east of Mutambe in Senga country. He returned after Ndakala II Kasonde's defeat by Young at Chibale's in 1897 (A. D. Roberts, 1973, *A History of the Bemba*: 138-9, 226, 279, 289n).

<sup>5</sup>. WFA 'Origine des missions Nyassa-Bangweolo', Rome (unpublished typescript/manuscript: 177 and 182).

nia towards the Chambeshi, and reiterated this in September 1904. Laws appealed to the Berlin Treaty of 1885, which stipulated that the country was open for work for all missions. He agreed with Codrington that a mission should not move into an area which had already been occupied by another mission, but in his opinion the area of Chinsali (or Mirongo) District was unoccupied. He considered the extension westwards from the Overtoun Institution necessary for realizing the purpose of the Institution.<sup>1</sup> In 1905 Laws announced to Codrington the occupation by Livingstonia of Chitambo, Kambwiri District, the area of the Senga west of Ngoniland and the Mirongo District (later called Chinsali District).<sup>2</sup> In November 1905 James Henderson and Donald Fraser had a meeting in London with Codrington and discussed with him the delimitation of the mission field of Livingstonia.<sup>3</sup> In 1907 the Government placed Chinsali District and Isoka District within the missionary sphere of influence of Livingstonia Mission. The Chambeshi River became, at least for the time being, the border between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant missions.

The 'loss' of the Bemba territory east of the Chambeshi River was painful for Bishop Dupont.<sup>4</sup> He believed sincerely that he had been appointed, at least temporarily, king of the Bemba by the dying Chief Mwamba. In that capacity he had brought the Bemba, virtually single-handed, under British rule. He expected the British to show in return their gratitude to him, and to include all the Bemba in the White Fathers' sphere of influence.<sup>5</sup> The Administration could however regard only with suspicion a French bishop who claimed to be at least the temporary successor of Senior Chief Mwamba. Robert Young's invitation to and his

<sup>1</sup>. NAZ BS 1/113 Administrator North East Rhodesia to Dr Prentice, 15-7-1904; Idem to Dr Laws, 2-9-1904, and Laws to R. Codrington, 11-8-1904 (also in: NAM OVG 5 Liv: 19). NAM OVG5 Liv: Bandawe, 4-10-1904 Minutes of Mission Council.

<sup>2</sup>. NAZ BS 1/113 (and: NAM OVG5 Liv.) Laws to Codrington, 28-4-1905. Dr Laws appealed to Art. VI of the Berlin Act of 1885 to advocate freedom of expansion for the Livingstonia Mission. The Berlin Act guaranteed 'the free and public exercise of all forms of Divine worship ... and (the right) to organize religious missions ...'. These terms are quoted in *Livingstonia News*, 9, 1-5 (Feb.- Oct. 1916): 29.

<sup>3</sup>. *Livingstonia Mission. Report for 1905*: vii.

<sup>4</sup>. WFA 'Origine des missions': 15.

<sup>5</sup>. WFA 'Origine des missions': 190, 207, 210, 216 and 219.

assistance to David Kaunda to establish himself in Chinsali District could well be explained by Young's antagonism to Dupont's aspirations as a Bemba chief. The Livingstonia Mission must have seemed for the Administration much less a threat than the hierocratic 'King-Bishop.'

Livingstonia had a policy of giving considerable responsibility to its educated Africans, partly for pragmatic reasons: the shortage of European manpower and the desire to expand the mission quickly over a vast area to forestall the advances of the White Fathers. After Livingstonia's decision to send David Kaunda to Chinsali the Acting Administrator, R. Beaufort, immediately wrote Laws to forbid him to open a station without a European permanently resident there.<sup>1</sup> So Chinsali had to function more or less as a substation of Khondowe and later of Mwenzo Mission. The area was regularly visited by Dr Chisholm, often accompanied by Donald Siwale, one of the first converts of Mwenzo Mission. This was a six days' journey.

David Kaunda's method of evangelisation followed the model of James Henderson. Kaunda toured the district extensively, selected able young men and brought these to his school at Chinsali boma<sup>2</sup> for further training. There these young men received religious instruction and learned the three Rs. After a while they went back to their villages to start a school. This method achieved a rapid expansion of the number of people in one way or another reached by the mission. In 1906 David Kaunda had six assistant-teachers from Mwenzo and he had trained twelve monitors.<sup>3</sup> In 1907 Kaunda reported considerable progress in his educational and evangelistic activities:

'Chinsali is growing and is now quite changed from the time Mr Henderson [James Henderson], the great hunter of villages, hunted it.' ... 'Many are coming searching for school; some spoke to me that

<sup>1</sup>. NAZ BS 1/113 Beaufort to Laws, 3-6-1905. The Native Commissioner, Robert Young also wrote to Dr Laws to ask about the responsibilities of David Kaunda (NAM LI 1/1/1/7 Livingstonia Mission: Overtoun Institute Correspondence, 1905-1910 Laws to R. Young, NC, Chinsali, 1-6-1906).

<sup>2</sup>. Boma is a Swahili word for 'fortified place' or 'defensible enclosure'. After the British occupation of East and Central Africa it got the meaning of police or military post and administrative capital of a district and also government of a district.

<sup>3</sup>. *Livingstonia Mission. Report for 1907*: 54.



I am spoiling their lives in not sending them school. They do not wish me to go away, but to make Chinsali my home. They are very much willing to hear the Words of God preached among them. Many are crossing the Chambezi [Chambeshi] river in search of school... There must be many teachers for Chinsali as are at Mwenzo. There are many people and many villages - over 100 villages - east, west, south and north, just in deep sleep. A European missionary should quickly take place at Chinsali. The Chinsali people are going to be glad very much. They always ask me about a white missionary.'<sup>1</sup>

David Kaunda was convinced that also in his dealings with European government officers he had to be more obedient to God than to men. He dared for instance to oppose an order of the Chinsali Native Commissioner Josselin de Jong, who had temporarily replaced Young during his homeleave. One Sunday morning in 1908 Kaunda started drumming for the 10 o'clock service in the school. The Native Commissioner however had ordered complete silence at the station, because somebody at the station was ill. The Native Commissioner sent twice police to fetch Kaunda, who refused to come saying 'that he had work to do.' Finally he was brought there accompanied by four police! The Native Commissioner, after an altercation, gave David Kaunda a box on the ears and put him in prison till 12 o'clock noon. He also wrote Chisholm a letter asking him to punish Kaunda because of his 'insolence' and disobedience.<sup>2</sup> Kaunda was then temporarily transferred to Nkula and Donald Siwale of Mwenzo took his place in Chinsali.<sup>3</sup>

In May 1909 Chisholm and Siwale visited Chinsali again. A large number of people was seeking admission to the catechumenate and to the Church by baptism. Chisholm stressed the need to establish a

<sup>1</sup>. *Livingstonia Mission. Report for 1907*: 55.

<sup>2</sup>. NAZ BS1/146 Native Commissioner to Chisholm, 16-2-1908 [See also: Macpherson, 1974, *Kenneth Kaunda*: 35]. Two hours imprisonment seems a very lenient sentence compared with the punishment other Africans got for the offence 'insolent behaviour.' Sam, a capitao of the African Lakes Company at Chinsali was accused of wanting to strike Mr. Cookson, the Kasama NC, and of refusing to greet him. He was charged with the offence of insolence. The sentence was two months imprisonment or a fine of 40 sh. and the costs 2/6! [NAZ BS1/147].

<sup>3</sup>. TI Donald Siwale, 25-5-1979, Nakonde. Kaunda continued his work in Chinsali boma when Young returned from his leave in 1908.

'European station.' A new argument in favour of the establishment of a separate mission station in Chinsali was that sleeping sickness regulations prevented communication between the Institution at Khondowe and the mission field in North-Eastern Rhodesia. Sleeping sickness was first diagnosed in North-Eastern Rhodesia in 1907. Government took the threat of sleeping sickness, a fatal disease, very seriously.<sup>1</sup> It established segregation camps, road patrols, border guards. It removed whole villages. In 1909 sleeping sickness regulations made it impossible to cross the Luangwa river. In December 1910 the border of North-Eastern Rhodesia was closed. The western parts of Chinsali District hitherto served by Khondowe, Ekwendeni and Loudon could no longer be reached from Nyasaland. In 1911 Government released the Luangwa area from quarantine,<sup>2</sup> but in the same year Livingstonia closed all schools in Chinsali District, because of fear of sleeping sickness, and in 1913 the medical committee of the Mission Council of Livingstonia advised that no permanent buildings be erected in districts threatened by the tse-tse fly. This included the whole of Chinsali District.<sup>3</sup>

David Kaunda and other Livingstonia missionaries received, generally speaking, a willing audience for their message. They reported 'a deep sense of need among the people.' Questions were asked: 'What shall we do that we may worship God aright?', 'How shall we pray to God of whom you tell us, seeing that the hills do not hear us?' or 'Tell us the words by which a man may be saved.'<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere people were struck by the preaching about the wrath of God against sin. Others came to conversion after having seen an appearance of Christ in a dream, where

<sup>1</sup>. In 1901 Ford and Dutton had discovered that the disease was caused by trypanosomes. Even mosquitoes were thought to be able to transmit the disease if  $\sqrt{}$  had bitten a <sup>they</sup> person who suffered from sleeping sickness. The only drug available in the first decades of this century was the highly toxic and dangerous atoxyl (Albert Schweitzer, 1926, *Zwischen Wasser und Urwald*, München: 75-83).

<sup>2</sup>. *Livingstonia News*, 2,4 (1909): 55; *Livingstonia Mission. Report for 1911*: 43; C. Gouldsbury and H. Sheane, 1911, *The Great Plateau*: 65, 348-9; and M. Gelfand, 1961, *Northern Rhodesia in the Days of the Charter*: 203.

<sup>3</sup>. J. H. Morrison, no date (1919?), *Streams in the Desert*: 115.

<sup>4</sup>. *Livingstonia Mission. Report for 1903*: 76, and *Livingstonia Mission. Report for 1904*: 41.

he told them to come to Him.<sup>1</sup> Some however protested against the suggestion that beer-drinking, dancing, initiation ceremonies and polygamy were sin. They argued that all things that God had created with His hands were good. God had given millet for beer drinking, women in order to have many children and multiply and fill the land. 'Had God known these things to be evil, why is it that He gave them to us?' Others ridiculed the preaching on 'hell fire' of the teachers.<sup>2</sup> The preaching of the existence of a personification of evil in the person of the Devil, the adversary of God, may have strengthened the belief in the power of witchcraft, as presumed witches could now be seen as people who had concluded a pact with the Devil or who were possessed by evil spirits, demons or 'devils.' Evil spirits, *fiwa* (sing. *ciwa*), had a very minor role in Bemba traditional religion. The concept of a supreme evil spirit, the Devil, was introduced by the missionaries. This enhanced the status of the *fiwa*.<sup>3</sup> There is no indication that traditional priests and chiefs saw Christianity as a threat which had to be opposed. There was one recorded instance of opposition to David Kaunda's work. In May 1907 Fumawapashi, described as a 'traditional priest' (possibly a traditional healer or *ng'anga*), commanded by the spirit of Mulenga, warned the people of Fonkofonko and Mwami in Chinsali District not to send girls to the schools or to church services.<sup>4</sup> There was apparently no harm in

<sup>1</sup>. *The Aurora*, 6, 33 (Aug. 1902): 82. Notes written by Lubwa evangelists in 1913 also indicate a ready reception of the Gospel. The notes speak about religious life in a happy family home, and the giving of blessings both by husband and wife (*Misango ya Cibemba* by Paul Mwendacabe [= Paul Mushindo], Zimbabwe National Archives, Harare, Clement Doke Collection, Papers of Rev. MacMinn, in: Hugo Hinfelaar, 1989, 'Religious Change': 56).

<sup>2</sup>. *Livingstonia Mission. Report for 1905*: 34.

<sup>3</sup>. Francis Carey, 1986, 'Conscientization and In-Service Education of Zambian Primary School Teachers', Ph. D. Thesis, University of London (unpublished): 30-31; 43-45; and 73-74. In the Bemba Bible of 1956 (translated by *inter alios* Rev. Paul Mushindo and Rev. R. MacMinn) the evil spirits or 'devils', cast out by Jesus and the apostles are translated as *fiwa*, while the Devil is translated with 'Kasebanya.' The ecumenical translation of 1983 translates evil spirits with *fibanda*, and the Devil with *Ciwa* (e.g. Luke 8:30; Matth. 4:1). Hinfelaar (1989, 'Religious Change': 56) also points out the dire consequences of this identification of the evil spirits of the Bible with *fiwa* and the identification of the Devil with *Ciwa*. He rejects this as syncretism and suggests that this formed a root cause for the rise of the Lumpa Church in the 1950s. The figure of Christ was new for the Bemba, but also the figure of the Devil or Satan as the personification of evil.

<sup>4</sup>. *The Aurora*, 10, 62: 21.

boys going to school and the church. The majority of church members were indeed men: of the first 100 people to join Lubwa Church, between 1907 and 1918, only thirteen were women.<sup>1</sup> The main reason why girls were kept away from the mission was that Bemba women, more than men, were the custodians of traditional religion with their important role in the puberty rites (*cisungu*), the ritual cleansing in sexual relations, maintaining the purity of the fire in the house, fertility rites etc.<sup>2</sup>

Some Livingstonia missionaries of this period used an evolutionary model of religious development. African traditional religion was not something static, but thought to be in development and now approaching the monotheistic stage. They perceived in traditional religion a concentration on thinking in terms of one Supreme Being at the cost of the spirits and deities, while concepts like omnipresence, omnipotence and omniscience were present in traditional African religion as 'actual undoubted facts.' In their evangelisation methods these Livingstonia missionaries tried to link up with the religious concepts of African traditional religion. Christianity was seen as a further development, which could be build upon the traditional belief system, but would not replace it in its entirety.<sup>3</sup> That such views were expressed in a widely read magazine as *Livingstonia News* shows something of the intellectual climate of Livingstonia. This attitude contrasts with that of the White Fathers, who in this period were hostile to all forms of Bemba religion.

<sup>1</sup>. LOA Church Roll (See Appendix I, p. 247).

<sup>2</sup>. For an account of these rituals see Audrey Richards, 1956, *Chisungu*, London. On the important ritual role of women, see p. 28-36.

<sup>3</sup>. These were the views expressed in *Livingstonia News* by D. R. MacKenzie of Karonga (*Livingstonia News*, 7, 3: 43-4 (June 1914) and *Livingstonia News*, 7, 4: 49 (Aug. 1914)). His views echo those of J. N. Farquhar and T. E. Slater, who saw Christianity as the fulfillment of everything that is good in other religions. Farquhar expressed his view on the theology of religion at the General Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910. He wrote in 1913 *The Crown of Hinduism*. Farquhar saw Christianity as 'the crown of Hinduism', i.e. the gospel could be built upon a non-Christian religion like Hinduism. At that time, however, not many people had such a positive view on African religions, then still called 'primitive religions' or 'natural religions.' These were the opposite of 'revealed religions' like Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism. The General Missionary Conference of Tambaram in 1938, influenced by the Dutch missionary Hendrick Kraemer, strongly rejected such positive views on non-Christian religions (H. Kraemer, 1938, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*, London and H. Kraemer, 1939, Continuity or Discontinuity, in: *The Authority of the Faith. International Missionary Council Meeting at Tambaram, Madras, December 12th to 29th, 1938*, London [Tambaram Series, Vol. II: 1-23]).

Prospective converts had to renounce not only its practices, but also its beliefs.<sup>1</sup>

In May 1911 Dr Chisholm went on leave and in July Robert MacMinn came to Mwenzo to replace him. Chinsali had then 27 church members and forty catechumens. MacMinn toured the district with Donald Siwale and Jonathan Mukwasa in the same year.<sup>2</sup> MacMinn had joined Livingstonia Mission as a printer at Bandawe in 1893. His father was a poor farmer and not able to give him an education. He taught himself, however, some Latin and Greek, and he also learnt Hebrew. He developed an interest in African languages and became conversant in Nyanja, Tonga, Tumbuka and Bemba. Although not fully qualified, he was ordained 'in the field,' but was not eligible for a call to a church in Scotland. He worked in Kasungu, Ekwendeni and Loudon. After his visit to Chinsali in 1911 he made an ardent plea for the establishment of a mission station there. He pleaded for a one-man station to allow 'a steady permeation and growth', which would be preferable to 'a mere rapidity of progress.' This could be seen as an implicit criticism of the methods of evangelisation of David Kaunda. MacMinn also argued that Chinsali was in a strategic position in relation to the Bemba. The influence of the White Fathers in Bembaland proper could be countered, by offering the Bemba education and the Scriptures in Bemba translation. Mission education was quite popular. Some Bemba from the White Fathers' area were even crossing the Chambeshi to live in Chinsali and in Mwenzo just to attend the schools of the Presbyterian Mission.<sup>3</sup>

In October 1912 the Mission Council of Livingstonia Mission finally approved the proposal to establish a mission station among the Bemba with MacMinn in charge.<sup>4</sup> The Livingstone Centenary in 1913 provided an occasion for an additional appeal for funds for Livingstonia.<sup>5</sup> On 1

<sup>1</sup>. Francis Carey, 1986, 'Conscientization': 71. Bishop Roy of Bangweolo Diocese issued as late as 1944 a circular which equated traditional religion with devil worship (F. Carey: 74).

<sup>2</sup>. *Livingstonia News*, 4, 1 (1911): 6 and *Livingstonia News*, 4, 4 (1911): 54.

<sup>3</sup>. NAM LI1/3/17 MacMinn to Secretary of the Mission Committee, Sept. 1912.

<sup>4</sup>. NAM LM LI 1/1/1/7 Overtoun Institution Correspondence 1905: 55; Clement Doke, 1959, 'The Linguistic Work': 180; and NAM LM LI 1/3/17: 104.

<sup>5</sup>. Peter Bolink, 1967, *Towards Church Union in Zambia: A Study of Missionary Co-operation and Church-Union Efforts in Central Africa*, Sneek: 29.

May 1913 MacMinn arrived again in Chinsali with his wife Josephine Haarhoff.<sup>1</sup> She had a training as a primary school teacher and had served as a Red Cross volunteer with a neutral German ambulance unit during the Boer War. She then came to Nyasaland as a nurse in the service of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission.<sup>2</sup> Originally it was planned to establish the station close to Chief Nkula's capital (*umusumba*). However MacMinn preferred a station not too close to a village. He also wanted the station to be near the source of a river in order to have a sufficient supply of fresh water. Chief Nkula's village was near the source of the Lubwa River, and there were already two villages near the source of the Luvu River. However there were as yet no villages near the Kolwe stream. A major worry in the establishment of the mission station was the tse-tse fly. MacMinn rejected the deserted farm of the elephant hunter Yule on the Luvu River for that reason as the new site for the mission. MacMinn also preferred to have the European houses built on a hill-side.<sup>3</sup> So the site near the source of the Kolwe stream was selected. There, near a range of hills, a mission station was established. For obvious reasons the name Lubwa was preferred to the name Kolwe (monkey). After having helped selecting the site of the station, Kaunda moved to Nkula's village as a school inspector.<sup>4</sup> The following year, building on the work of David Kaunda as a teacher and evangelist, the station was fully established.

In the year 1914-1915 200 attended church services at the station, eighty attended baptism classes, 260 attended the preparatory classes, and 2,613 children went to Sunday schools. There were then 22 church members. During the first year of the mission fourteen more joined. Even if the first decade of mission work in Chinsali District seems relatively

<sup>1</sup>. Josephine Haarhoff was the second wife of MacMinn. His first wife, Lizzy Stewart, a teacher of girls at Livingstonia, died shortly after giving birth to a baby boy on 5 October 1902; the baby had died on 23 September (*The Aurora*, 1902: 77; NLS 7884-2 Telegram Nkata 7-10-1902).

<sup>2</sup>. Mrs. D. Rodger neé MacMinn in letter to author, 2-11-1981.

<sup>3</sup>. DR Diary of R. D. MacMinn for 1915, and J. H. Morrison (no date [1919?], *Streams in the Desert*) for the difficulties caused by the fear of the tse-tse fly and the fatal disease of sleeping sickness on founding Lubwa Mission.

<sup>4</sup>. TI Robert Kaunda, 1-12-1979 and TI Donald Siwale, 25-5-1979. Also: *Livingstonia News*, 6, 4: 60-61 and 6: 6: 11-112 (1913) with the account by Mrs. MacMinn of the founding of Lubwa Mission.

successful it should be realized that the number of people affected by the mission was small. The population of the district was estimated at 20,000. Of these about 2,500 were registered as attending schools. From the beginning the church suffered from the effects of labour migration. Of the first 36 members ten had left the District in search of employment elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> and of the first seventy church members nineteen had left Lubwa more or less permanently: eight had gone to the Congo, South Africa or Nyasaland, five to towns on the line of rail, while six had gone to other places in North-Eastern Rhodesia.<sup>2</sup> In 1912 there was 'an unusual exodus' of young men from Fife and Chinsali districts to German East Africa, the Congo and South Africa where wages were ten to twenty times as much as what the mission offered.<sup>3</sup>

#### 4. Education and evangelization

Education was the key method of evangelisation. The emphasis Livingstonia placed on education could well be illustrated by comparing the White Fathers Mission in the Apostolic Vicariate of Bangweolo with the Livingstonia Mission in North-Eastern Rhodesia and in Northern Nyasaland in 1913 (Table I, p. 42). Apart from purely religious instruction and the training of catechists the White Fathers spent little on education. The Roman Catholic catechists were often illiterate. They were selected because of their standing in society, 'mature men, between 25 and 40 years of age, those who had taken part in the razzias of the 'Ancien Régime' and had served as porters in the caravans.'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Livingstonia Mission. Report for 1913*, Rev. R. D. MacMinn.

<sup>2</sup> LOA Church Roll, Lubwa Congregation (see Appendix I, p. 239).

<sup>3</sup> *Livingstonia Mission. Report for 1912*: 45-46.

<sup>4</sup> Brian Garvey, 1974, 'The Development': 154.

TABLE I: WHITE FATHERS (WF), BANGWEOLO AND LIVINGSTONIA MISSION (LM), N. E. RHODESIA/NYASALAND IN 1913.<sup>1</sup>

	White Fathers	Livingstonia Mission
Mission stations	7	10
<i>Staffing (European):</i>	27	58
Ordained missionaries		14 <sup>1)</sup>
Lay missionaries		13
Wives of missionaries		17
Unmarried women		6
Medical missionaries		8
<i>Staffing (African):</i>	214	2,036
Catechists	214	47 <sup>2)</sup>
Teachers and monitors		1,506
Elders, deacons, managers (unpaid)		483
<i>Baptisms: Adults</i>	389	1,060
<i>Baptisms: Children</i>	471	1,192
<i>Baptisms: 'Moribunds'</i> <sup>3)</sup>	2,066	
Patients treated		38,488
Pupils enrolled		51,497
Communicant and baptized members	3,847 <sup>4)</sup>	19,035
Catechumens	48,751 <sup>4)</sup>	8,551
Total expenditure (£)	<sup>5)</sup>	6,202

<sup>1)</sup> Six of the 14 ordained missionaries of LM were also medically trained<sup>2)</sup> This figure includes paid pastors etc.<sup>3)</sup> Baptisms *in articulo mortis* <sup>4)</sup> figures for 1910<sup>5)</sup> No figure available for 1913. In 1907 Bangweolo had a budget of £ 1,100 (30,000 francs) (Brian Garvey, 1974, 'The Development': 221). Livingstonia Mission had then a budget of £ 6,044 (*Livingstonia Mission. Report for 1907*: 75). Bishop Larue wanted for 1914 to have 60 to 70,000 francs (WFA 109047 26-2-1914). In 1925 Bangweolo Vicariate had a budget of £ 5,000 (Garvey, 1974: 222).<sup>1</sup>. WFA 110449 and 109046 Larue, Chilubula to Mgr., 26-2-1914; the statistics for 1910 of Bangweolo Vicariate are in: *Annalen der Afrikaansche Missiën*, 37, 9 (May 1921): 251; *Livingstonia Mission. Report for 1913*: 57-61.



Livingstonia Mission as a whole spent in 1912 £ 2.667 on education. This was 64 % of the total expenditure (excluding European salaries). The bulk of the expenditure on education went to the salaries of the 1,535 teachers and monitors teaching 56,190 pupils in 840 schools. Livingstonia Mission received only £ 637 back, in the form of school fees (£ 362) and a government grant (£ 275). The figures for Mwenzo for 1912 (which include the figures for Chinsali) give a similar picture. Mwenzo spent £ 368 (71 %) on education of a total expenditure of £ 520. Livingstonia as a whole employed in 1913 47 catechists against 1,506 teachers and monitors (Table I). Mwenzo Mission employed in 1912 only eleven catechists doing evangelistic work against 410 teachers<sup>1</sup>. The teachers and monitors assisting David Kaunda in Chinsali District are included in these figures. In 1913 Lubwa Mission was established and it placed then these teachers on its own pay-roll. In 1914 Lubwa Mission employed David Kaunda and 88 other teachers. The mission had 41 schools. The biggest schools were in Lubwa, Nkula, Chinkumba and Ndakala. The school at Lubwa was anglo-vernacular; the rest were vernacular schools. At the close of the year 1,446 boys and 1,022 girls were enrolled.<sup>2</sup> Villagers had to construct the school themselves as a form of school fees, and teachers had to be provided with food.<sup>3</sup> Those pupils who had passed St. 4 were put in charge of a village school, while those who had passed St. 2 were employed as assistants.<sup>4</sup> Those with St. 6 could become headteachers and school-supervisors.<sup>5</sup> In-service teacher training was provided twice a year in June-July and in

<sup>1</sup>. *Livingstonia Mission. Report for 1912*: 55-57. Financial Statement. Total expenditure of Mwenzo Mission in 1912 consisted of the following items: salaries of teachers £ 325, dispensary and medicines £ 60, boarding £ 26, school material £ 17, buildings £ 13, industrial £ 19, itinerating £ 6, miscellaneous £ 45. I have deducted from the total expenditure the post 'balance' (£ 193), which also appears as 'balance' in the column income. The statistical tables in the annual reports of Livingstonia Mission were divided into three sections: (1) evangelistic, (2) educational, and (3) African congregational work.

<sup>2</sup>. UCZ 592 Lubwa Education 1914.

<sup>3</sup>. NAM LI 1/1/1/7 Overtoun Institution Correspondence, 1905-1910 Letters to R. Young, 1-6-1906.

<sup>4</sup>. NAZ KTQ2/1 Chinsali DNB. Missions.

<sup>5</sup>. John Lester Membe, who later founded the African Methodist Episcopal Church in the territory, was an example. He did his St. 2 to 4 at Lubwa Station School, while living in the home of David Kaunda (A. Hastings, 1975, 'John Lester Membe', in: T. O. Ranger and J. Weller, *Themes in the Christian History of Central Africa*, London: 180).

December. Except for the school at the station, the general level at the schools was low and went probably not beyond pre-school level. Still the education offered was more than the purely religious instruction needed to become a church member. Lubwa did not employ evangelists or catechists until the 1930s when Dr Brown had replaced MacMinn as missionary-in-charge. In 1925 'evangelistic work' appears for the first time as a separate item on the annual financial accounts of Lubwa Mission.<sup>1</sup> Lubwa showed in this view a different pattern compared with the other Livingstonia stations in Northern Rhodesia. By 1929 Mwenzo, Chitambo and Chasefu employed together 21 evangelists and 10 'other paid agents for evangelism.' Lubwa then still had none.<sup>2</sup>

The missionaries of Livingstonia were convinced that even purely secular education had a positive effect on the Africans to accept the Gospel. Teaching the three Rs would stir up minds for 'higher things' and provide a medium for communicating divine truth. Teachers would become evangelists and pupils scripture readers. The schools were considered 'the most practical method of reaching both young and old, and in the evangelization of the country...' Schools were 'the most potent barrier against the inroads of Roman Catholicism and Islamism.' Only a quarter of the curriculum was Bible instruction.<sup>3</sup> In 1918 MacMinn formulated the aims of Lubwa Mission in evangelisation and education as follows:

'The aim in view is to enable the people to read the Scriptures for themselves in an intelligent manner. It is necessary for the satisfactory growth of the Christian that he should be able to read and understand the Word of God. The village school, by enabling the people to read the Scriptures for themselves and intelligently decide on the question of Christianity, has been one of the most powerful agencies at the command of the Missions. Any other instruction imparted, such as writing and counting, is given largely with a view to quickening the intelligence and increasing the ability

<sup>1</sup>. UCZ 592 Annual Report Lubwa Mission for 1925.

<sup>2</sup>. NLS *Report of the Foreign Mission Committee for 1929* (NLS Psm 1080: 244-245).

<sup>3</sup>. *Livingstonia Mission. Report for 1902*: 30-31.

to understand the Scriptures. More advanced education is given by the missionaries themselves, chiefly with a view to providing native teachers capable of imparting the above simple instruction... The ultimate aim of mission education (was): to bring about righteousness, usefulness, helpfulness, loyalty, in the individual and in the mass.<sup>1</sup>

The Christian ideal of Livingstonia was the *individual* convert who because of his education had direct access to the source of faith, the Bible, which was in the Presbyterian view the infallible, authoritative Word of God. For such a faith 'no intermediaries, priests or ministers, were needed.'<sup>2</sup> Authority is vested in the Bible. Every literate Christian had an independent access to this source of authority. This was completely new in traditional society, which had vested authority in descent (for instance membership of the royal Crocodile Clan, the *bená Ng'andu*), an institution (the chieftainship), or a charisma (the traditional healer or *ng'anga*). In order to join the Church one was given instruction. But this was separate from the instruction in the schools. When somebody wanted to become a church member he or she was placed in the Hearers' Class. When a Hearer became convinced of the truth of the gospel message he or she would have to profess faith in Christ. One was then publicly in the presence of the congregation admitted in the Catechumens' Class. Here the aspiring member had to receive at least two years instruction in Christian doctrine, while at the same time his or her conduct would be under scrutiny by the African church elders, or in their absence, by the European missionary. It is likely that the elders rewarded westernization in the way of dress, speech, food habits, pattern of living between spouses, economic activities. When one had passed an examination conducted by the European missionary one was baptized. Then one was finally allowed to take part in the Lord's Supper as a full church member.<sup>3</sup> Although instruction in the schools was separated from instruction by the church there was similarity in structure.

<sup>1</sup>. UCZ 1125 MacMinn to NC, Chinsali, 28-3-1918; see also: P. D. Snelson, 1974, *Educational Development*: 12.

<sup>2</sup>. James Henderson in *Livingstonia Mission. Report for 1903*: 8.

<sup>3</sup>. SOAS LMS Box Central Africa 13/2 July-Dec. 1905 Dr Laws' Report.

Conversion was not mainly based on a religious experience, but on the intellectual acceptance of certain religious dogmas, which often had to be learnt by heart. As in the school one had to pass an examination to be allowed to enter the higher stage. Paul Mushindo describes his conversion as follows: 'I was very keen to learn. So I was put into Standard I ... In 1910 I was sent to Mwenzo together with some teachers for teacher training, where I was forced [!] to choose a Christian name. I chose Paul, and so became Paul Bwembya Mushindo. After that 'MacMinn came to Chinsali and established the station of Lubwa and this was where I was baptized.'<sup>1</sup>

This view on conversion seems very pragmatic. It agrees with the philosophy of Scottish Common Sense Realism. Facts (or objects) can be observed objectively. Man's natural perception is not subjective, but objective. The human mind is equipped for objective perception with natural judgments, innately human, God-given judgements. Truth, including religious truth, may be observed objectively as something outside and independent of the human mind. Natural judgments are innate. There is therefore a vast store of objective knowledge or basic truths independent of time and space (i. e. absolute) which is common to people everywhere at all times. There is an optimistic faith in the powers of human reason; reason is the primary means of obtaining knowledge about God. The Fundamentalist view on the Bible is that it is a reservoir of objective facts, basically not different from the facts of scientific investigation. Reason and faith could be reconciled in this way.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>. Paul Mushindo, 1973, *The Life of a Zambian Evangelist*: 16-7. Paul Mushindo became a Catechumen on 15-10-1911 (LOA Roll of Catechumens). He joined the Church on 31-5-1913, the very month MacMinn came to Chinsali to establish Lubwa Mission (LOA Church Roll of Lubwa Congregation). His name is in the Church Roll given as: Paul (Mwendachabe) Mushindo. It is not clear where the name Mwendachabe comes from. He signed in 1913 a manuscript with Paul Mwendacabe. Mushindo was the name of his father. He may have changed his name later into Bwembya, the name of a Chitimukulu, who according to Mushindo was 'very patient and polite and peaceful, full of dignity, and the land was quiet under his rule.' Bwembya was driven away in the early 1860s by his nephew Mutale Chitapankwa (Mushindo, 1973: 59). Mushindo may have identified himself with Bwembya, because he felt treated very unkindly by MacMinn, just as Bwembya was treated unkindly by Mutale Chitapankwa. According to Roberts Bwembya could not speak properly and was probably feeble-minded (A. D. Roberts, 1973, *A History of the Bemba*: 127).

<sup>2</sup>. Scottish Common Sense Realism is represented by the philosophers Thomas Reid (1710-1796), Dugald Stewart (1753-1828), James Beattie (1753-1803), James Oswald

The Livingstonia missionaries Laws and Chisholm encouraged independent thinking among teachers. At the Overtoun Institution a Literary Society was established at which pupils would read papers and discuss subjects chosen by themselves, such as 'the development of native trade and industries' and 'the future of Africa.'<sup>1</sup> In Mwenzo, possibly from as early as 1906 a Welfare Association was in operation in which Donald Siwale, David Kaunda and other senior teachers took part. The Native Commissioners of Fife and Chinsali were invited by Dr Chisholm to let them hear the opinions of the Welfare Association. The members wanted fair play and equality. They resented their being addressed as 'boys,' when they were being adult, married men with children. They based their claim for equality on the authority of the Bible.<sup>2</sup>

Young men were especially attracted to the mission because the education it offered provided a shortcut to positions of influence and authority they could have got otherwise only after a long period, for instance by becoming head of a large family or head of a village. Like government messengers, mission teachers and evangelists<sup>3</sup> formed a new class with an authority and status derived from the Europeans, through which they could join a new ruling class. They were among the few who were being remunerated.<sup>4</sup> Every teacher wore in the beginning at least a cloth or shorts and a shirt. In this way they were easily recognisable by the people.<sup>5</sup> Teachers had the right and probably even

(1715-1769), Thomas Brown (1778-1820) and William Hamilton (1788-1856). This view of the Bible as a reservoir of facts, could also use the Bible as evidence for the existence of witches, evil spirits, and witchcraft, as was done by African Christians in a later period.

<sup>1</sup>. NAM LI 1/1/1/6 Overtoun Institution, 1904-1927 Dr. Laws to R. W. Lyall Grant, Chairman of the Native Rising Commission of Enquiry, Blantyre. See also: David Cook, 1975, 'The Influence of Livingstonia Mission': 114.

<sup>2</sup>. TI Donald Siwale, Nakonde 25-5-1979. The year 1906 was given by Donald Siwale in my interview with him; in 1912 the Welfare association got its constitution. Cook (1975: 115) gives 'about 1913' for the foundation of the Mwenzo Welfare Association. Livingstonia missionaries supported the ideas expressed by the Welfare Associations. For instance, MacMinn, as Vice-President of the General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia wrote in 1924 to the Governor to consider African representation in the Legislative Council (The General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia (GMC). *Report of Proceedings of the GMC*, Lovedale: 22).

<sup>3</sup>. As stated above Lubwa did not employ evangelists until the 1930s.

<sup>4</sup>. UCZ 592 David Kaunda as a school inspector received in 1914 the then considerable sum of £ 18 per year. The 88 other teachers earned together £ 83.18.4.

<sup>5</sup>. TI Tomas Sabi, 20-3-1979, Sabi Village, near Lubwa.

the duty to preach 'against polygamy, slavery, obscenity, and drunkenness.' Teachers were allowed in these matters to oppose villagers, headmen and even chiefs.<sup>1</sup> Teachers may have criticized the behaviour of chiefs and headmen, but they did not attack in a direct way African traditional religion or its officebearers. The new religion preached a male High God and His Son Jesus Christ. The mission gave opportunities mainly to men to learn at school and to become a teacher or worker at the mission. There were as yet no ceremonies which could be conducted by women. In traditional religion Bemba women had important religious and ritual duties. The new religion did not provide equivalent opportunities for them, at least for the time being.<sup>2</sup>

### 5. The War

On 4 August 1914 Britain declared war on Germany. This was almost immediately felt in North-Eastern Rhodesia. The missionaries were informed by the Foreign Mission Committee that they had to exercise 'the most anxious economy.' All new schemes had to be set aside till the war was over.<sup>3</sup> Alongside the border between North-Eastern Rhodesia and German East Africa, close to Mwenzo, skirmishing started between German and British troops immediately after the declaration of war.<sup>4</sup> In March 1915 there were German raids in the border area, and Kawimbi Station of the London Missionary Society was evacuated.<sup>5</sup> Because of the looting of German *ruga-ruga* bands most of the people around Mwenzo moved inland. Mwenzo was then moved to a site 40 miles

<sup>1</sup>. Brian Garvey (1974, *The Development of the White Fathers' Mission*: 160-2 and 1977: 422) reports a similar conflict in the area of the Roman Catholic mission between catechists and headmen. According to Garvey the catechists got support from the boma. It seems that the Government watched the Livingstonia teachers with some suspicion, especially after the rising of John Chilembwe in Nyasaland in 1916 and the Watchtower irregularities in Fife District in 1918 in which ex-employees of Livingstonia were implicated.

<sup>2</sup>. Cf. Hugo Hinfelaar, 1989, 'Religious Change': 58 and 63.

<sup>3</sup>. COA Frank Ashcroft (FMC) and William Stevenson (Women's Foreign Mission) to: 'The Missionaries of the Church' 1-10-1914.

<sup>4</sup>. WFA 109050 Larue (Chilubula) to Mgr. 1-9-1914. The letter arrived in Carthage 30-10-1914.

<sup>5</sup>. WFA 109057 Kayambi, 4-3-1915 to Mgr.

away.<sup>1</sup> In July there was a full scale battle, between Germans and British troops near the border. The battle lasted for ten days. The Germans came with a force of 2,000 with 200 Europeans. Fifty Germans and eighty Africans were killed. The British counted four dead and some twenty wounded.<sup>2</sup>

By October 1915 mobilization of all men able to carry 25-30 kilos was in full force. Even young boys of 15 to 18 years were recruited. These were however allowed to share one load between them.<sup>3</sup> In February 1916 there was renewed fear of a German invasion. The scale of operations increased when General Smuts took command of the British forces in East Africa in the same month, and the demand for portage increased: in April 1916 1,044 frontline porters were recruited from Fife alone. By the end of January 1917 908 of these had returned; 136 were unaccounted for. An additional 400 served as 'second line porter' between Chunga/Fife and Fife/Rungwe Hill to the end of December 1916. At the beginning of 1917 2,129 porters were with the British troops inside German East Africa.<sup>4</sup> Porters were enrolled for a period of six months. At the end of 1917 most people in Mpika District had been recruited. People did not have time to look after their gardens. Famine threatened.<sup>5</sup> Porters were as a rule paid between 7s 6d and 12s 6d for their services.<sup>6</sup> The increased circulation of money led according to MacMinn to a more materialist attitude, to a 'recrudescence of evil dances, drinking customs and immorality.'<sup>7</sup> Chinsali District produced a record number of porters, because of the efforts of the Native Commissioner 'Bobo' Young and the good standing he had with the people of the

<sup>1</sup>. Edmund Yorke, 1983, 'A Crisis of Colonial Control: War and Authority in Northern Rhodesia 1914-19', D. Phil. Thesis, University of Cambridge (unpublished): 123-4.

<sup>2</sup>. WFA 109064 19-8-1915 Larue to Mgr., quoting Fr. Pueth, from Kayambi, who was with the British troops during the battle.

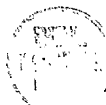
<sup>3</sup>. WFA 109066 Larue, Chilubula, F. Eegendre to Mgr. 1-8-1918.

<sup>4</sup>. NAZ BS3/110 Administrator - outletters. Confidential 1917.

<sup>5</sup>. WFA 110 346 F. Eegendre, Chilonga, to Mgr., 3-9-1917.

<sup>6</sup>. Brian Garvey, 1974, 'The Development': 204. The carriers, however, would not always get the money they were entitled to.

<sup>7</sup>. *Livingstonia News* 9, 1-5 (Feb.-Oct. 1916): 11-12.



district.<sup>1</sup> MacMinn also encouraged senior teachers to engage in war work. From the neighbourhood of the mission a good number of men joined the King's African Rifles.<sup>2</sup> Among those recruited was the Lubwa evangelist John Mpuku Bwembya.<sup>3</sup> Livingstonia Mission in general actively supported the British war effort. By July 1918 over half of the European members of staff were directly or indirectly engaged in African or European war service.<sup>4</sup> Dr Hubert Wilson of Chitambo went to Europe and served in France. His sister Mary Wilson, a nurse, served on the East African front.<sup>5</sup> Mwenzo became a war hospital with Dr Chisholm in charge with the rank of Captain.<sup>6</sup> On 19 October 1918 the German Defence Force commander, Colonel Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck invaded North-Eastern Rhodesia. Fife was bombarded, but successfully defended. The Germans were, however, able to pass on to Kayambi. They sacked the mission stations of Mwenzo, Kayambi and Chilubula. The missionaries of Chilubula fled to Chilubi Island. The Germans captured a deserted Kasama on the 9th of November. They kept Chilubula Mission occupied till 15 November.<sup>7</sup> On the morning of the 14th of November Croad, the District Commissioner of Kasama, got in touch with von Lettow-Vorbeck, who had reached the rubber factory and pontoon at the Chambeshi River to inform him about the armistice.<sup>8</sup> On 15 November the armistice was effective in Northern Rhodesia. Eleven days later von

<sup>1</sup> W. V. Brelsford, 1965, *Generation of Men. The European Pioneers of Northern Rhodesia*, Salisbury: 57. My informants mentioned in the late 1970s that Young married several African women and that some of his children were then still living in the district.

<sup>2</sup> *Livingstonia News*, 10, 1 and 2 (Feb.-Apr. 1917): 10. MacMinn wrongly speaks about the R. A. Rifles. The Northern Rhodesia Rifles was a European unit (Edmund Yorke, 1983, *A Crisis*: 126).

<sup>3</sup> See the inscription on the stone of his grave in Lubwa graveyard: 'was in 1914-18 war, as a priture [sc. preacher] 1920-1959, died August 29, 1959.' Yorke (1983: 157-9) suggests that teachers were deliberately inducted into military service in order to secure their closer supervision, as the Government after the Chilembwe Rising in January 1915 in Northern Nyasaland feared their influence. For Lubwa there is no evidence to corroborate this statement.

<sup>4</sup> NAM LI 1/1/1/6 Secretary of the Livingstonia Mission Council to The High Commissioner, Cape Town, 15-7-1918 protesting against the introduction of the Northern Rhodesia Native Schools Proclamation.

<sup>5</sup> A. G. Buckle, 1976, *A History of Serenje District-Part 2*, Serenje (cyclostyle): 62.

<sup>6</sup> WFA 109032 F. Eegendre (Fife) to Mgr., 1-8-1918.

<sup>7</sup> WFA 109033 H. Juillet, Fife to Mgr, 10-11-1918 and WFA 109034 Eegendre, Chilubula to Mgr, 26-10-1919.

<sup>8</sup> W. V. Brelsford, 1965, 'Generation of Men': 64-5.



Lettow-Vorbeck led his men into Abercorn to surrender.<sup>1</sup>

The war had not touched Chinsali District directly, as it had the neighboring districts of Fife (Isoka), Abercorn and Kasama. The German invasion had gone around Chinsali District in a semicircle. But the population of the district experienced great hardships because of the heavy demand for portage and soldiers and the requisitioning of food. In Northern Rhodesia 3,500 troops and between 50,000 and 100,000 porters were recruited. Most of these came from North-Eastern Rhodesia.<sup>2</sup> In 1917 31,000 Africans from North-Eastern Rhodesia (which had a taxable male population of only 120,000) were away as porters or soldiers. 40 % of all available African men in North-Eastern Rhodesia were at one time or the other employed in the war.<sup>3</sup> The death rate among African soldiers and porters has been estimated at 10 %, but was possibly two or three times that figure.<sup>4</sup> The departure of so many men led to famine as people were unable to cultivate their fields. In the aftermath of the war epidemics came to take their toll from a population weakened by hunger and the exhaustion. The Chinsali District Notebook simply records, without comment:

'1918-19 influenza epidemic; many deaths,'

'1919-20 many deaths in Chiwale's and Mirongo's from a sort of malignant dysentery.'<sup>5</sup>

Mwenzu, the sister station, was sacked by the Germans in 1918. At Lubwa the houses for the missionary and the teachers, school buildings, a workshop and store, a book store, an office and a dispensary were all built as temporary buildings from pole and mud, because of the insecurity brought about by the war.

In the middle of the war, from October 1916 to October 1917,

<sup>1</sup>. John Iliffe, 1979, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, Cambridge: 245.

<sup>2</sup>. John McCracken, 1986, 'British Central Africa', in: *Cambridge History of Africa*, Vol. 7: 620-621.

<sup>3</sup>. L. H. Gann, 1964, *A History*: 163-4. See also: John McCracken, 1986, 'British Central Africa': 620-622 on the effects the war had on North-Eastern Rhodesia.

<sup>4</sup>. John Iliffe, 1979, *A Modern History*: 250. Yorke concludes on the basis of official figures of a death toll of 10 % of the Ngoni from the Fort Jameson area, though he admits that the real figure could be much higher (Edmund Yorke, 1983, 'A Crisis': 174, 174 nt.3).

<sup>5</sup>. NAZ KTQ2/Vol. I: 171 'Health'.

MacMinn was on leave, and no European was at the station. David Kaunda took charge, assisted by Andrew Mkochi from Loudon. Rev. Jonathan Chirwa of Mwenzo visited the station and made admissions to the Church and Catechumenate.<sup>1</sup> This again shows the willingness of Livingstonia Mission to give extensive responsibilities to Africans.<sup>2</sup> Because of the mobilisation of young men as porters and soldiers school attendance declined during the war (Table II), The unsettled situation of the last war years as well as the effects of the Watch Tower movement, especially in the northern part of the district also contributed to the lack of growth.<sup>3</sup> Not only had Lubwa got off to a late start, by comparison with the missions of the London Missionary Society or even the White Fathers, its early growth was seriously retarded by the effects of World War I and its aftermath.

The BSA Government of North-Eastern Rhodesia had an ambivalent attitude towards the education of Africans. It was in need of trained Africans as government messengers, clerks, telegraphists and askaris.<sup>4</sup> From 1913 it assisted the Livingstonia Mission with an amount of £ 75 for 'the training of clerks for government service.'<sup>5</sup> At the same time it looked with some suspicion at the effects of education on Africans, who no longer would fit in the existing power relations of the village. It feared that school teachers would take over the management of villages.<sup>6</sup>

In January 1915 John Chilembwe, a former pupil of the (Established) Church of Scotland Mission School in Blantyre, Nyasaland, and founder of the Provident Industrial Mission at Chiradzulu, led a violent rising against settler abuses and African recruitment as porters in

<sup>1</sup>. *Livingstonia News*, 10 (Jan. 1918-June 1919): 10.

<sup>2</sup>. See also: K. J. McCracken, 1977, *Politics*: 226.

<sup>3</sup>. NAZ KTQ2/1 District Note Book: Missions; UCZ 1125 Annual Report, Lubwa 1919.

<sup>4</sup>. Chinsali District employed in 1907 14 messengers and two clerks. Three of the messengers were sons of chiefs and one a grandson of a chief (NAZ KTP2/1 Mirongo District Note Book Vol. 2: 200).

<sup>5</sup>. John McCracken, 1977, *Politics*: 203. Gelfand mentions an amount of £ 50 as a donation from the BSA Company for the Livingstonia Mission 'to encourage the educational work of the Mission' (M. Gelfand, 1961, *Northern Rhodesia*: 152).

<sup>6</sup>. NAZ BS 1/114 L. A. Wallace to Dr Prentice 1-5-1908 and P. E. Hall, NC, Native Court Ft. Jameson, Criminal 6-4-1908.

the war. A few settlers were killed. The Rising was soon suppressed.<sup>1</sup> Laws' reaction was to give Africans more responsibilities. Government, however, suspected mission education as a major cause of rebellion. It wanted to increase its control of missions and mission education in Nyasaland, but also in North-Eastern Rhodesia. The Native Schools Proclamation of 1918 had to achieve government control on schools as well as on teachers.<sup>2</sup> 'School' was defined as 'a school or class for the teaching or instruction of natives whether held in a building or not'. This definition was so wide that it could include even purely religious instruction in the church. A 'school' could be closed if the Government was convinced that it was 'detrimental to the good order and government of the neighborhood or public decency.' 'Teacher' was defined as 'any native teaching in a school'. The Proclamation allowed the Government to require a certificate of efficiency and good conduct from the teachers. Teachers had to prove that they were married and living with a wife in the village where they wanted to teach.<sup>3</sup> Teachers could be removed by Government when guilty of misconduct, found to be subversive, when they interfered with a chief, district office messenger, or the police. European missionaries had to inspect schools four times a year, while Magistrates and Native Commissioners also had the right to inspect schools.<sup>4</sup> MacMinn protested against the Proclamation in a letter to R. Young, the Native Commissioner of Chinsali. He found the definition of 'school' in the Proclamation too comprehensive. He was worried about the need for the missions to increase expenditure on education. MacMinn was against government aid for mission education. He felt that 'Christianity and the mission school as agent of Christianity must make their own way if they are to be of real value to the people.' Mission education could not be a threat to government as the aims of mission education were: 'to bring about righteousness, usefulness, helpfulness,

<sup>1</sup>. G. Shepperson and Th. Price, 1958, *Independent African: John Chilembwe and the Origins, Setting and Significance of the Nyasaland Native Rising of 1915*, Edinburgh.

<sup>2</sup>. Proclamation No. 3 of 1918 of 16-4-1918 and explanatory District Circular to Magistrates on 19-4-1918.

<sup>3</sup>. P. D. Snelson, 1974, *Educational Development*: 130.

<sup>4</sup>. Franklin Parker, 1966, *Early Church-State Relations in African Education in Rhodesia and Zambia*, London (reprinted from *The World Year Book of Education*): 9-11.

loyalty in the individual and in the mass.<sup>1</sup> Dr Laws also did not want such extensive government control as provided in the Proclamation and wrote to the High Commissioner in Cape Town, demanding - but in vain - the repeal of the Proclamation.<sup>2</sup>

## 6. The Watchtower Movement

In the last year of the war Hanoc Shindano had been successful in establishing an independent Watchtower movement in the northern part of North-Eastern Rhodesia.<sup>3</sup> In October 1917 Shindano and five others who were originally residents of Tanganyika District, were deported from Southern Rhodesia because of their Watchtower activities. Shindano settled in Tukamulozya's Village in the Abercorn Division. This became the centre of the Watchtower movement. The movement got a millenarian character. By the end of 1918 it had an estimated 1,000 followers. Most of these were Iwa and Namwanga living in the Isoka District, and Mambwe of the Abercorn and Kasama districts. In Chinsali District people in Iwa villages were attracted to the movement, but only a few Bemba.<sup>4</sup>

The Watchtower movement provided a different model of Church. It encouraged spontaneous and immediate conversion. Everybody was accepted, without training, examinations or a trial period. The movement didn't recognize any civil or religious authority, but only the 'words of God.' Chiefs were referred to as 'Satan'. Government messengers, the

<sup>1</sup>. UCZ 1125 MacMinn to Native Commissioner, 28-3-1918.

<sup>2</sup>. NAM LI 1/1/1/6 Overtoun Institution 1904-1927 Copies of typed manuscripts Box 1 Secretary Livingstonia Mission council to The High Commissioner, Cape Town, 15-7-1918.

<sup>3</sup>. There is some confusion about the name of Shindano. The Chilubula Diary has Marc Shindano, 'a Mambwe, preaching among the Iwa, Mambwe and Inyamwanga [sc. Namwanga] (Brian Garvey, 1974, 'The Development': 250). Sholto Cross (1973, 'The Watchtower Movement in South-Central Africa', D. Phil. Thesis, Oxford (unpublished): 196) gives: Shadrach Sindano, while L. H. Gann (1964, *A History*: 169) quoting *The Livingstone Mail* of 16 May 1919 gives us Shadrash Shankila. William Watson (1958, *Tribal Cohesion in a Money Economy. A Study of the Mambwe People of Zambia*, Manchester: 198-9) has Anok (Enoch) Simpungwe as the leader of the Watch Tower movement who settled in his village Tukamulozya to establish there his 'Zion.' He later built his own village 'Galilee.' Henry Meebelo (1971, *Reaction to Colonialism. A Prelude to the Politics of Independence in Northern Zambia, 1883-1939*, Manchester: 136, 179nt 17) gives Hanoc Shindano. Bolink (1967, *Towards Church Union*: 115) has Shadrack.

<sup>4</sup>. NAZ BS3/417 Native Unrest: "Watch Tower" Movement; Henry Meebelo, 1971, *Reaction*: 136-7.

powerful intermediaries between local colonial government and the villagers, were belittled as 'drops of rain falling from the trees' (stupid men of no importance), while the Boma was referred to as 'that which makes itself heavy and important.' The chiefs complained that their people were completely out of hand. In the Mwalule section the village headmen together with their entire villages and the officiating priests were, with few exceptions, converted and baptized.<sup>1</sup>

Links between Lubwa and the Watchtower movement were only indirect: some of the Watchtower leaders had been connected with Mwenzo Mission.<sup>2</sup> The movement was opposed to mission christianity; it expressed the view that 'missionaries are deceitful and only expound half the truth.'<sup>3</sup> Lubwa and the Watchtower movement had in common their stress on the absolute authority of the 'word of God,' but the Watchtower movement stressed, in contrast to Lubwa, the immediate coming of the Kingdom of God and the 'end of the world.' Although the movement remained strong in the eastern parts of Chinsali District and in neighbouring Isoka District it soon lost its radical character, especially after the arrest and detention of the leaders. In September 1918, several months before the German occupation of Kasama, Shindano and Kanjelo were charged with spreading Watchtower doctrines. They stood trial in Kasama in 1919. Shindano was sentenced to three years imprisonment and 24 lashes.<sup>4</sup> The Watchtower movement was the only organisation to express a protest against the war and the hardships it brought to the people. It also offered an alternative, as it promised an imminent end to the suffering.

<sup>1</sup>. NAZ KTQ 2/1 Quarterly Report, Oct-Dec. 1918 P. Dewhorst, NC.

<sup>2</sup>. L. H. Gann, 1964, *A History*: 169. Peter Bolink (1967, *Towards Church Union*: 115-116), however, denies that there is evidence linking the Watchtower movement with ex-teachers from Mwenzo.

<sup>3</sup>. NAZ BS3/417 Native Unrest: "Watch Tower" Movement, and KTQ 2/1 P. Dewhurst, NC, Quarterly Report, Oct-Dec 1917. See also: W. Watson, 1958, *Tribal Cohesion*: 197-203, about the movement among the Mambwe, and H. Meebelo, 1971, *Reaction to Colonialism*: 133-185.

<sup>4</sup>. *Livingstone Mail*, 16-5-1919, in: L. H. Gann, 1964: 169.

### 7. The post war period 1919-1925

After the war Lubwa Mission expanded rapidly. In the period 1919-1925 church membership doubled (Table II).<sup>1</sup> The number of patients treated increased by a factor of 1.5. This was the work of Mrs MacMinn alone till October 1923, when Lubwa employed a nurse, Ruth Service. The educational expansion was most striking: total enrollment increased by a factor of 3.3, while female enrollment increased even by a factor of 4 in these seven post-war years. In 1925 Lubwa had four times as many schools as in 1919, and employed 2.4 times as many teachers (Table III).

Educational and evangelistic work with African women got extra attention with the appointment of Miss Christine Masterton in 1924. A girls' boarding school and a girls' day school were

TABLE II: LUBWA EVANGELISTIC AND MEDICAL WORK, 1919-1925

		Communicant members	Sunday School pupils	Outpatients attended
1919		90	1,577	2,906
1920		102	2,059	4,154
1921		122	2,925	5,158
1922		124	1,690	3,042
1923		126	2,785	4,015
1924		155	4,257	4,298
1925		184	6,598	

established at Lubwa, as well as a Women's School. In 1925 the Women's School employed Helen Kaunda and two African assistants. The school had then 159 pupils. A special school for teachers' wives was established at the station. Sewing classes were organized at village schools within a radius of five miles of the station.<sup>2</sup> Books were published to serve the pupils and the new literates. In 1914 a *Life of Christ*, *Umulubushi Wesu*, ('Our Redeemer'), was published in ChiBemba, prepared by MacMinn, and in 1916 the New Testament was published in

<sup>1</sup>. NAM LI 1/9/2 Statistics for Livingstonia Mission, Lubwa, and Medical Mission Work. Also: UCZ 592 Annual Returns Chinsali Station. This source gives for 1921 for outpatients attended the figure of 1,813 patients. The figure for 1922 covers the period May to December.

<sup>2</sup>. UCZ 592 1924 and 1925.

ChiBemba with the aid of the London Missionary Society.<sup>1</sup> In 1919 three books with selections from the Old Testament were sent to the press, as well as a book 'Africa, the Land of Darkness,' translated from English.<sup>2</sup>

There was a reason for the rapid expansion of Lubwa Mission, as the White Fathers began to move in the direction of the area which according to the Codrington agreement of 1907 was allotted to the Livingstonia Mission. At the end of 1923 Fr. Tanguy made a journey of exploration through Chinsali District to look for a site for a mission station somewhere halfway between Chilonga and Chilubula.<sup>3</sup> In 1923 Roman Catholic catechists from Malole Mission<sup>4</sup> encroached for the first time on the territory of Lubwa Mission, to work in Mwaba's village, where they baptized a child *in articulo mortis* who recovered. Lubwa's threatened to counter this move by establishing its schools in Mpika and Kasama. This was not effected, but the 'encroachment with (sc. of) Rome' provided another reason to expand the school system of Lubwa as quickly as possible. Placing schools and teachers in every important village would 'saturate the minds of the entire population with the knowledge of the Scriptures,' which would neutralize Roman Catholic advances.<sup>5</sup> The headmen and chiefs in the district made good use of this eagerness of Lubwa Mission and many began to claim schools and teachers for their villages.<sup>6</sup> Between 1919 and 1925 the number of schools, Lubwa had in the district, increased from 25 to 99.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> G. E. Coldham (comp), 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures in African Languages*, Vol. I. *Contributions to the Translation of the Bible in ChiBemba*, London: 74-80. Life of Christ, *Umulubushi Wesu* (Our Redeemer) prepared by R. D. MacMinn, Livingstonia Mission, 1914, 1921, 52 pp.; *Chipingo Chipya chya Mfumu Yesu no Mupusushi Yesu Klistu*, London, 1916, tr. by H. C. Nutter, W. Freshwater and R. D. MacMinn, 528 pp.

<sup>2</sup> *Livingstonia News*, 10 (October 1919): 33.

<sup>3</sup> *Rapports Annuels*, 19 (1923-1924): 199-201.

<sup>4</sup> The White Fathers established Malole Mission in December 1922 in Lubemba notwithstanding vehement opposition of Chitimukulu Ponde (*Rapports Annuels*, 17: 322). Malole is not far from Mwaba which was in the 'sphere of influence' of Lubwa Mission.

<sup>5</sup> *Livingstonia News*, 11 (April-June 1924)

<sup>6</sup> *Livingstonia News*, 11 (July-Sept. 1924): 42.

<sup>7</sup> UCZ 592.

TABLE III: LUBWA MISSION: EDUCATION 1909-1925<sup>1</sup>

	pupils			teachers
	male	female	total	
1909			94	8
1910			1,300	42
1911				
1912				
1913				
1914	1,446	1,022	2,468	88
1915	1,288	894	2,182	90
1916				
1917				
1918	1,172	479	1,651	73
1919	845	448	1,293	60
1920	998	605	1,603	67
1921	1,074	739	1,813	70
1922	1,000	724	1,724	68
1923	1,083	684	1,767	76
1924	1,220	1,110	2,330	87
1925	2,457	1,761	4,218	141

<sup>1</sup>. NAZ KTQ2/1 DNB: 48 for 1909 and 1911. UCZ 592 for 1914, 1915, and 1918-1925; NAM LI 1/9/2 Statistics for Livingstonia Mission: Lubwa Schools (not including those of the Women's Foreign Mission).



## 8. Conclusion

The last few years of the 19th century saw a scramble for the Bemba between the London Missionary Society, Livingstonia Mission and the White Fathers. Through the audacious action of Bishop Dupont immediately after the death of Chief Mwamba the White Fathers gained the Bemba heartland of Chief Mwamba and Chitimukulu, and the area of Chiefs Makasa and Chikwanda as their missionary sphere. The efforts of Rev Dewar to reach the Bemba from Mwenzo were not successful. In 1905 Livingstonia established itself in the area of the Bemba Chiefs Nkula, Chewe, Mwaba and Mubanga and the Bisa Chief Chibesakunda by placing David Kaunda, his wife, Helen Nyirenda and Hezekiah Nkonjera in Chinsali boma.

The White Fathers and Livingstonia Mission used different models of evangelization. The White Fathers tried to integrate Africans into their Church by the teaching of the catechism, by training catechists and by appointing '*chefs de chrétienté*' and 'baptizers.' The ritual aspect of religion was stressed. The sacraments were considered to have an objective value. Without the sacrament of baptism one would go to hell, to eternal damnation. Outside the institution of the Roman Catholic Church there was no salvation. But aspiring church members had to wait at least for a ten year period before they could get baptized. Most members entered the Church through the 'backdoor' of baptism *in articulo mortis*. Catechists, *chefs de chrétienté*, 'baptizers' and traditional midwives (*banachimbusa*) could administer this baptism.<sup>1</sup>

For Livingstonia salvation was through *individual* faith in Christ. Education was the means whereby the Africans could get access to the Scriptures, the word of God. Secular education, the 3 Rs, would facilitate the understanding of the Scriptures. David Kaunda used the method of James Henderson with much success in the district between 1905 and 1913 to expand education. After four years of education pupils would assist in the teaching of the lower grades. At the same time they received

<sup>1</sup>. The baptism *in articulo mortis* (*lubatisho lwa pa kufwa*) was popular especially among the traditional midwives. Its simple formula and the insistence on repentance is similar to the traditional ritual administered by these women during difficult child birth (Hugo Hinfelaar, 1989, *Religious Change*: 60, 75 nt.98-9)

twice a year in-service training to prepare them for examinations for higher grades. In this way one could become a school supervisor, who in his turn would select teachers from his pupils and conduct in-service courses. Livingstonia Mission gave teachers like David Kaunda great responsibilities, but Government looked askance at this, especially after the Chilembwe Rising of January 1915 in Nyasaland, in which ex-mission teachers were implicated. The Educational Code of 1918 provided for strict government control of mission teachers. When MacMinn established Lubwa as a mission station in 1913, away from Chinsali boma, he tried to develop it as a religious and educational centre of the district. Most of the mission budget went to facilities at the mission station.

The First World War seriously disrupted the work of the mission. A large section of the male population, from the age of 15 onwards, was mobilized into the army as askaris or carriers. MacMinn gave his full support to the recruiting activities of the army and most of the Livingstonia teachers were on war service. Schools had to be closed. The hardships for the people led to a chiliastic hope of an end to the suffering vocalized by the Independent Watchtower movement. The movement did not get a foothold among the teachers of Lubwa, but it still affected the development of the mission. Lubwa shared with the Watchtower movement the idea that the 'words of God' were the highest authority, not 'the words of men', priests, the church or government officers, but it did not share the Watchtowers' hope of an imminent coming of the Kingdom of God and the end of the world. The Watchtower movement was just as much opposed to mission christianity and its officebearers, as it was to government officers and traditional authorities. The movement introduced a different model of a church: a people's movement, which based admission to the church on a personal religious experience and in which officebearers did not have to meet particular set criteria. Lubwa Mission, in contrast, used intellectual agreement with the content of the catechism and literacy as criteria for admission. New members were often incorporated in the structure of the mission as its paid employees.

Competition with the Roman Catholic White Fathers' Mission strengthened this tendency of Lubwa to give priority to education as the main method to expand the church. As a consequence the church became one whereby formal criteria were used for membership and for positions of authority: the ability to read and write, the ability to reproduce an intellectual knowledge of the catechism, a westernized style of life (use of language, food habits, way of dressing, marital relationships, hygiene, way of mourning and expressing one's grief, attitudes towards traditional healing).<sup>1</sup> Moreover mainly young men were attracted to the Church in this period. During the whole of the period 1904 to 1925 Lubwa Mission had not a single catechist or evangelist on its pay roll! *Education* was to be the means to build the church.

<sup>1</sup>. See for a similar role of the Church among the Zulus of Natal: A. Vilakazi, 1965, *Zulu Transformations. A Study of the Dynamics of Social Change*, Pietermaritzburg: 101-3.

## CHAPTER TWO

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### ‘ALL GOOD MEN’

1925-1939

### 1. Introduction.

On 4 January 1925 twelve elders were solemnly ordained to lead Lubwa Congregation in the Northern Rhodesian Presbytery under the Synod of the Church of Central Africa (Presbyterian). 'All good men,' in the words of MacMinn, the missionary-in-charge. These ordinations were a major step in the development of an African Christian Church, 'self-supporting, self-governing and self-extending of which ordained ministers and office bearers are the Christ appointed leaders.'<sup>1</sup> The African Church of Lubwa was however then still very dependent on the mission. It had to wait for another five years to have its first African minister, David Kaunda, ordained, and twenty years to have the first Bemba minister, Isaac Mfula Mutubila, ordained. In 1925, twenty-one years after David Kaunda had begun preaching in Chinsali District (then called Mirongo District), and twelve years after MacMinn had founded Lubwa Mission, the African Church was still very small. It had 222 communicant, i. e. full, members, and 213 baptized children. The population of the whole district was then estimated at 23,196.<sup>2</sup> The Church was not a mass movement, but consisted of an elite. There were three or four stages through which one had to pass before one could become a full communicant church member. Aspiring members had to complete satisfactorily a course of training, before being allowed to become a *Hearer*. The completion of another course would make one a *Catechumen*, and the successful completion of a third course would elevate one to the rank of *Full (Baptized and Communicant) Church Member*.<sup>3</sup> The whole process would take a minimum of two years instruction. *Full Church Members* (i. e. communicant members) were moreover expected as far as possible to be

<sup>1</sup>. This was the aim of Livingstonia Mission as formulated by Dr. Laws in a letter to R. W. Lyall Grant, Chairman of the Native Rising Commission of Enquiry, Blantyre. Dr. Laws added that '(i)n all branches of the Mission work a gradual devolution of work, responsibility, and authority, from the European to the Native' is taking place (NAM LI 1/1/1/6 Overtoun Institution, 1904-1927). The 'three-self formula' is from Henry Venn (1796-1873), secretary of the Church Missionary Society.

<sup>2</sup>. NAZ KTQ 2/vol. 1: 115.

<sup>3</sup>. Only children of Christian parents would be baptized as infants. These could become full (communicant) members on the successful completion of the courses of hearer and catechumen. Adults, who had not been baptized as infants, were baptized after completion of the catechumen course.

literate.<sup>1</sup> The passing from one stage to another was accompanied by some ceremony, and solemn vows were made by aspirants in mass gatherings.<sup>2</sup> Only full church members had the right to participate in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper (or Holy Communion). This religious ceremony was celebrated only a few times a year, just as was the practice in the Church of Scotland. These full church members were also eligible for the post of church elder.<sup>3</sup> Notwithstanding the strict conditions connected to church membership many wanted to join the Church. The period under review saw a considerable expansion of the Church, and of the educational and health care system of Lubwa.

The total Christian community of Lubwa, consisting of aspiring members, hearers, catechumens and full church members was 1,858 in 1925. At the beginning of 1925 the Church of Lubwa had 184 full church members and 213 baptized members (those who had received the infant baptism). Between 1925 and 1939 about 2,350 adults (of sixteen years and older) and 2,025 children (younger than sixteen) were baptized.<sup>4</sup> Lubwa Church, however, also lost a number of members by migrations, deaths, transfers to other churches and suspensions. Still Lubwa Church grew tenfold during the period under review. By 1939 it was at the height of its influence. The Church had then 26 ordained elders. Twelve religious centers were spread over the district. 313 Sunday Schools were attended by 8,077 children. The mission employed ten evangelists and 34 catechists to spread the Gospel in 300 villages of the district.<sup>5</sup>

Lubwa's greatest impact, however, was in the area of education. In 1925 Lubwa had 77 Sunday Schools, with 6,598 pupils, and 99 other

<sup>1</sup>. LOA File Church Correspondence: Sub Committee of District Council Executive 05 02 1945.

<sup>2</sup>. UCZ 893 Dr Brown, Report to FMC, 1939.

<sup>3</sup>. The post of church elder was initially only available for men. In 1949 the first women were elected to the church eldership (see below p. 134-5).

<sup>4</sup>. NAM LI 1/9/2 Statistics for Livingstonia Mission. The population of the district increased in the same period from 23,000 to 30,000, an average net growth per year of 467 (NAZ Estimates District Notebook, Tour reports, Annual Reports Native Affairs. KTQ 2/1: 28; SEC 2/1298).

<sup>5</sup>. As mentioned in Chapter 1 Lubwa began to employ only evangelists and catechists were only employed in the early 1930s after Dr Brown had taken over as missionary-in-charge from MacMinn.

schools with 4,218 pupils, who were taught by 141 teachers employed by the mission. 73 of these teachers were Christians. This means that 33 % of the church members consisted of teachers employed by the mission.<sup>1</sup> In 1924 Northern Rhodesia passed from BSA Company administration to the Colonial Office. This did not have an immediate effect on the position of the mission. But from the 1930s onwards Government began to give increasing amounts as grants-in-aid to the educational and medical work of missions. Lubwa, with its extensive network of schools and well-developed health facilities, was the first to benefit from these grants.

## **2. Relations with the Roman Catholics**

The more rapid growth of the Church in the period 1925-1939 compared with the period 1913-1925 was stimulated by the rivalry with the newly established White Fathers' Mission. Between 1922 and 1939 this established mission stations at Malole, Ilondola, Chalabesa, Katibunga, Mulilansolo and Mulanga in or near the area in which Lubwa, Mwenzo and Chitambo had previously enjoyed a monopoly of education and evangelization. The year 1925 saw the visit to Lubwa of Father Marsan who was, in the words of MacMinn, the priest 'in charge of the forward movement.' He came to Lubwa to tell MacMinn that Chinsali was part of the Roman Catholic Diocese, and that he 'did not recognise any boundary.' The Frenchman was told by the confident MacMinn that '(w)e have not been able during the war to develop our work, as men and means had to go to help save France [!]... but now we are moving I hope soon to occupy the whole district.' To Dr Laws, MacMinn wrote that 'the only way to meet the Roman menace is to give the people God's word; and the quickest and surest way to get it to them is through our simple village schools.' The establishment of these schools was also needed in view of the 'widespread and growing desire for schools throughout the district.'<sup>2</sup>

The Roman Catholic Church in this period began to see the importance of the role of the Church in education. Before 1925 the White

<sup>1</sup>. UCZ 592. The medical figures are from 1926.

<sup>2</sup>. NAM LI 1/1/1/45-35/09 and UCZ File 529 MacMinn to Dr Laws 3-9-1925.

Fathers had provided very little secular education. There was a system for training men to become priests. The seminary for the Diocese of Bangweolo at Chilubula had only eight pupils in 1919. In 1920 a new system was established with a preparatory seminary at each mission station providing a one-year course for candidates for the Bangweolo seminary. From 1922 to 1926 Latin was taught there through Chi Bemba and the other subjects through Latin! From 1926 to 1933 Latin was taught through French, and English through Latin. Only after 1934 did English become the medium of instruction.<sup>1</sup> In 1925 a total of 7,697 children received some sort of regular instruction given by itinerant evangelists.<sup>2</sup> The White Fathers at that time looked down upon the Protestants with their preoccupation with education. According to the fathers they made the word 'church' mean 'school,' while for the Catholics 'church' meant a 'house of prayer'. The Apostolic Visitor, Mgr. Arthur Hinsley, visited Bangweolo Vicariate in 1928 to stress the urgent necessity for the Roman Catholic missions to move also into education. His message: 'A violent, northern wind blows over Africa, in its deafening noise one hears always the same deep oo-sound: schools! schools!'<sup>3</sup> The Catholic Church should immediately begin to develop education from Normal (i. e. teacher training) schools and station boarding schools to the village primary schools. Education now had to have the highest priority in the allocation of money and of personnel even at the cost of other missionary activities.<sup>4</sup> The schools had to be 'up to date' and to equal and even surpass those of the Protestants.<sup>5</sup> The progressive Dutch priest Jan van Sambeek was appointed Director of Schools to establish the educational system of the diocese. *Education* was now to become the battle-ground on which the missionary protagonists engaged in a holy war to win over the hearts, minds and souls of the African village people.

It was van Sambeek who was charged with opening up Chinsali

<sup>1</sup>. WFA 213 417 and Brian Garvey, 1974, 'The Development': 266-8.

<sup>2</sup>. Brian Garvey, 1974, 'The Development': 281.

<sup>3</sup>. *Rapports Annuels (RA)* 21, 1926-27: 118; P. D. Snelson, 1974, *Educational Development*: 144.

<sup>4</sup>. *Annalen der Afrikaansche Missiën* 45, 12 (June 1929): van Sambeek about Hinsley's visit to Chilubula, also: WFA File 2132 55 Chilubula, 1927-28.

<sup>5</sup>. *Rapports Annuels* 23, 1927-28: 172.



District for the Roman Catholics. On 21 May 1933 Pope Pius XI established Luangwa (or Lwangwa) as a *missio sui juris*. This mission covered Mpika, Chinsali, Isoka, Mombera and Kasungu districts. In October 1933 van Sambeek was appointed Administrator of the Prefecture Apostolic of Lwangwa.<sup>1</sup> In January and February 1934 van Sambeek and Fr. Pueth went on tour in Chinsali District to find a suitable place for the new mission. They selected a spot on the right bank of the Cimpundu River, not far from the source and near the village of Manoyepi. This was about 15 km from Chief Nkula's capital and about 25 km from Lubwa Mission. The District Commissioner of Chinsali, S. R. Denny, advised against issuing this plot to the White Fathers to construct a station, because of its proximity to Lubwa.<sup>2</sup> Van Sambeek appealed to the Governor and waited (in vain) for two months for a reply. At the same time the White Fathers received a grant of £ 1,500 from the Countess Claude de Kinnoul, heiress of Imperial Tobacco (Players Cigarettes), to establish a mission station in the district.<sup>3</sup> The Government made a counter-move by offering a plot in Chibesakunda's area, which was about 50 km away from Lubwa. The Government based its refusal of the plot at the Cimpundu River on an objection by Chief Nkula himself. The chief was afraid that his *fitemene* (his fields of cut-and-slash agriculture) of the *beno mano* (the councillors) would become so large that within a period of five years he himself would move to the place selected by van Sambeek.<sup>4</sup> The chief also feared interference by

<sup>1</sup>. WFA Ilondola Diary: 414, and 4.

<sup>2</sup>. NAZ District Note Book Chinsali, KTQ 2/1, 19-7-1934.

<sup>3</sup>. WFA Ilondola Diary: 4. Lady Kinnoul had visited Chilubula in 1931 on her journey by motorcar across Africa visiting Roman Catholic missions together with her father confessor, l'Abbé Vincent de Moor. Van Sambeek had joined them on their four month journey from Chilubula to Algiers. The countess and the Abbé had called their visit to Africa 'The Blue Crusade' as it was made under the protection and in honour of Mary. They painted their Citroën car blue in her honour (l'Abbé de Moor, 1932, *La croisière bleue: du Nord au Sud de l'Afrique*, Brussels, and 'Notes Biographiques. Bishop Jan van Sambeek, 1886-1966', in: *Petit Echo*, 1966: 273-291).

<sup>4</sup>. NAZ District Commissioner Chinsali to Provincial Commissioner Kasama, 7-2-1934. Chief Nkula had no doubt been influenced by Lubwa Mission. At the beginning of 1924 the White Fathers from Malole sent teachers into Chinsali District. When these were expected in Nkula's village he immediately sent a messenger to Lubwa to ask advice how to deal with them (NAM LI 1/1/1/45 MacMinn to Dr Laws, 10-4-1924). This contradicts the view of Dr Garvey, who suggests that Nkula Bwalya invited the White Fathers in order to strengthen his dynastic claims to the Chitimukuluship (Garvey, 1974: 239). It is not clear how the White Fathers of Malole could influence the succession of

the Roman Catholic priests in the area of traditional law, especially in matters of marriage and divorce.<sup>1</sup> In June 1934 van Sambeek received a letter of refusal from the Governor, Sir Hubert Young.<sup>2</sup> By that time, however, van Sambeek and Brother Elisee<sup>3</sup> were already living at the selected spot where they had built a small chapel of wood and grass. The Provincial Commissioner in Kasama, Mr. Hill, then ordered van Sambeek to evacuate the place immediately. Van Sambeek refused and the matter was referred to the Governor in Livingstone. In October the Governor visited Chinsali after passing through Shiwa Ng'andu, where Stewart Gore-Browne had pleaded in favour of the White Fathers.<sup>4</sup> Permission was then granted at a meeting between the Governor and van Sambeek at the boma on the grounds that the system of 'areas' no longer existed. The Governor requested the White Fathers to come to an educational agreement with Lubwa.<sup>5</sup> The new Roman Catholic mission was named 'Ilondola,' the recovery of lost territory, that is: the Bemba land lost to

*bena Ng'andu* chiefs.

<sup>1</sup>. According to the Chinsali DC Nkula had received a letter from Chitimukulu early in 1934 complaining about interference of the fathers, especially in matters of divorce [NAZ KTQ 2/1 DC Chinsali to Provincial Commissioner, Kasama, 7-2-1934]. This was also the complaint of Chief Luchembe, when the White Fathers established Chalabesa. Luchembe made an official declaration to the boma in Mpika that he did not want to have missionaries, because they would not allow him to have divorces [WFA 215072 Fr. Feger, Chalabesa to Maison-Mère, 27-6-1934]. The official rule with the White Fathers was that chiefs had a responsibility that Catholics would observe the 'christian laws.' This meant that chiefs had to act against immoral behaviour, especially by '*le refus de sanctionner cette licence par un acte d'autorité v. g. par une sentence de divorce, et en renvoyant à l'autorité religieuse compétente les cas se rapportant aux lois du christianisme.*' [WFA 214248 Indications Apostoliques pour les rapports avec les Missions protestantes. No date, 1933-34?]. The missionaries claimed a special jurisdiction over their Roman Catholic Christians. If the chief interfered with this, the fathers would threaten him, telling him that they would report him to the British authorities, charging him with 'abuse of power.'

<sup>2</sup>. NAZ KTQ 2/1 L. W. G. Eccles to J. van Sambeek, Superior of Luangwa Mission, near Chilubula, 15-6-1934.

<sup>3</sup>. Brother Elisee or rather Eliseus was also a Dutchman: Jan Bloemberg from Groessen, Province of Gelderland.

<sup>4</sup>. Stewart Gore-Browne, a former army officer of aristocratic connections, had established himself in September 1920 on a 22,000 acre estate in the southern part of Chinsali District (R. I. Rotberg, 1977, *Black Heart. Gore-Browne and the Politics of Multiracial Zambia*, Berkeley: 100-4).

<sup>5</sup>. WFA 215053 Correspondence Van Sambeek to Maison-Mère, 1933-5, Ilondola Diary, and NAZ KTQ 2/1 Interview between Sir Hubert Young and Fr. Van Sambeek [sic] at Chinsali, 30 10 1934. The Governor's permission was based on the (wrong) understanding that an educational modus vivendi had been reached with Lubwa Mission.

the Protestants of Lubwa<sup>1</sup> Chief Nkula Bwalya Changala, already an old and sick man, may have felt himself under too much pressure from the Roman Catholics, the Protestants and Government. He also had lost face, when notwithstanding his initial refusal the mission still was established. He passed away on 3 August 1934.

The religious and educational rivalry between Lubwa and Ilondola continued for the whole period under review. In March 1935 Dr Brown of Lubwa, who had succeeded MacMinn as missionary-in-charge in 1931,<sup>2</sup> complained to the District Commissioner of Chinsali that the village headman of Mundu felt that the Catholics wanted to force a Catholic school on him, even though he had already a school from Lubwa.<sup>3</sup> The White Fathers replied that here it did not concern a school but rather that it was *mafundisho*, religious instruction for Catholic children. Shortly after this incident an educational agreement was made between Ilondola and Lubwa, a kind of a 'religious non-aggression agreement.' The essence of the agreement was that 'no schools should be used for the purposes of religious propaganda or denominational proselytizing. The religious instruction period should be purely voluntary, and if children of another denomination happen to be present, they shall be invited to retire during that period.'<sup>4</sup> This amounts to a

<sup>1</sup>. An alternative translation of Ilondola, from the verb *kulondola*, the bringing together of sheep. The sheep would then be the 'real' Bemba, the *Ababemba nkomekome*. (information Fr. Hugo Hinfelaar WF, 1985). The importance of the occupation of Chinsali District for the White Fathers is illustrated by van Sambeek's tenacity. He was even prepared to civil disobedience: 'S'il (the Governor) persiste dans son refus, la Mission sera commencée quand même; mais les difficultés pour les Missionnaires qui y vient, seront plus grandes' [WFA 215053 van Sambeek to Maison-Mère, 21-4-1934]. Van Sambeek used the terminology of a holy war when speaking about the establishment of the mission: 'Il faudra conquérir chaque pouce terrain, les armes à la main' (*Rapports Annuels*, 1933-4).

<sup>2</sup>. Dr David Brown, from Itete in Tanganyika, had joined Lubwa Mission in 1927 as its first medical doctor. He was also an ordained minister. MacMinn retired in 1931 after forty years of active mission service. He settled in the district and bought a house, Mpandala, on Shiwa Ng'andu, the estate owned by Gore-Browne, and got engaged in the translation of the Bible in ChiBemba and the completion of an extensive ChiBemba-English dictionary together with Paul Mushindo (DR Diaries of MacMinn). The dictionary was never published. The draft is still laying unused in the Zimbabwe National Archives, Harare (Clement Doke Collection) (Clement Doke, 1959, *The Linguistic Work and Manuscripts of R. D. MacMinn*, in: *African Studies*, 18: 180-189).

<sup>3</sup>. NAZ DNB IV KTG 2/1 7-3-1935.

<sup>4</sup>. NAZ DNB IV KTG 2/1, 18-3-1935. The rule for the Roman Catholic pupils was very strict: they were not allowed to have any participation in the 'heretical cult,' not even in a single prayer. They should not in any way assist with 'heretical religious instruction,' and

change from mission education with the aim of incorporating pupils gradually into the Church to a purely secular education provided to meet a basic need. This agreement favoured the new Roman Catholic mission as Lubwa had many more schools in the villages than Ilondola. The agreement also contrasts strongly with the aims of education as outlined by MacMinn in 1915 (see above pp. 44-5 and 53). There was one proposal that van Sambeek could not agree with, since it would clearly benefit Lubwa. This was the proposal that if there was already a school belonging to one denomination in a village, the other denomination would not place a school there too.

In spite of the educational agreement a number of conflicts took place between 1935 and 1939. There was now a kind of a 'scramble for Chinsali District' between the two missions which opened as many 'schools' as they could afford in villages hitherto without a school. This made Chinsali one of the best-served districts in the territory *qua* education. The Chinsali District Education Committee was formed in 1936 to prevent conflicts about the establishment of new schools. In this committee the two rival missions were represented, the chiefs of the district, the Jeanes teacher<sup>1</sup> and the District Commissioner. Gore-Browne also attended occasionally the meetings of the committee. The committee does not appear to have been invariably successful. In 1939 Lubwa Mission established a Central School at Chafilwa without consultation with the District Education Committee. As a consequence Government refused grants-in-aid to the school. In 1940 Lubwa Mission accused the White Fathers of threatening the village headman of

should not believe anything of the lies which they can hear about religion [!] (WFA 214248 *Indications apostoliques pour les rapports avec les Missions protestantes*). By using such a dichotomic model for the relationship between Roman Catholics and Protestants a rift was introduced into the village community, and also into families and clans.

<sup>1</sup>. A Jeanes teacher was a teacher, appointed and paid by the Government, who functioned as a kind of school inspector with the duty to encourage development of practical skills, building, hygiene, health care, agriculture in the villages through the village schools. In Chinsali District the Lubwa trained teacher Tomas Sabi was the Jeanes teacher. The name 'Jeanes' is derived from Anna Jeanes, who in 1905 established a fund to help improve Negro rural schools in the South of the USA. The fund sought the appointment of teachers to do industrial work in the rural schools and special teachers to do extension work (J. H. Franklin, 1947 (third ed. 1969), *From Slavery to Freedom. A History of Negro Americans*, New York).

Chintankwa in order to have a Catholic school in his village.<sup>1</sup>

A typical incident not directly related to the establishment of schools took place on Christmas Day 1937. Reuben Nkashi, a teacher of Lubwa at Kasantu-Chipupa, a few miles from Mulilansolo Mission, was heard by a Roman Catholic catechist to say: 'We Protestants have books, which you, *Ba ku Roma*, do not have. With them we can prove that you have killed Bwana Jesus.'<sup>2</sup> This definitely was a very serious allegation. It was reported to Chief Mubanga. Reuben Nkashi himself, however, claimed to have said: 'Their words are only the words of men. We have in our hands what they do not have in theirs - God's book containing his message to men.' On Christmas morning Chief Mubanga's *kapasu* (messenger) called Reuben to Mulilansolo. He was put in handcuffs and forcibly brought into the Catholic church to attend a religious service. Thereafter he was brought to the Chief's Court accused of preventing people from joining the Roman Catholic Church. Dr Brown presented the case to the District Commissioner in Isoka District, which then included Mulilansolo. He referred it to the Provincial Commissioner in Kasama, who in his turn passed it on to Chitimukulu. Mubanga was then publicly reprimanded by Chitimukulu. Copies of Mubanga's apology to Reuben, with thanks for his clemency in not prosecuting him were posted at the various government stations in the area. Dr Brown gave this case as much publicity as he could, through his circular letters to friends in Scotland.<sup>3</sup> The case aroused enormous interest, and revived the 'Covenanting blood' of his friends, who asked for 'more news about the

<sup>1</sup>. NAZ DNB IV KTQ 2/1, 18-3-1935. The Roman Catholics, just like the Presbyterians, exerted pressure on chiefs and on headmen to refuse the rival mission entry into a village (WFA 214248 *Indications apostoliques*).

<sup>2</sup>. This idea could have its origin in the confusion between the Romans of ancient Rome, who according to the witness of the New Testament had crucified Jesus, and the Roman Catholics, who were called 'the Romans' (*'Baroma'*) by the Scottish missionaries and the Protestant Christians of Lubwa. Kasanta Chipupa was situated 20 km from Mulilansolo. It belonged to Lubwa. In the 1950s it became completely a Lenshina village (information Fr. Hugo Hinfelaar WF, 1985). The Lumpa Church also accused the Roman Catholics of having killed Bwana Jesus.

<sup>3</sup>. WFA Mulilansolo Diary, 21 and 25-12-1937, and BP Brown, 1950: 92-100. Dr Brown had the habit of writing extensive circular letters. These letters were published in the *Motherwell Times*, the *Orcadian*, and even in the *Montreal Star*. The unpublished biography of Dr Brown written by his brother James Brown contains extensive quotations of these circular letters (BP James Brown, 1950, 'The Good Fight of David Brown': 26).

struggle.<sup>1</sup> Dr Brown also prepared an adaptation and translation in ChiBemba of a brochure written by Canon Hares: *50 Reasons Why I Have Not Joined the Church of Rome*, which was published for the first time in 1942.<sup>2</sup> The Roman Catholics in return published: *50 Reasons Why I have Joined the Church of Rome!*

Between 1935 and 1939 the White Fathers built four more missions around Lubwa: Katibunga (1936) near Shiwa Ng'andu, where MacMinn had retired and started a private mission and dispensary,<sup>3</sup> Mulilansolo (1936) near the area of the Bemba high priest Shimwalule and the sacred burial groves of the Bemba Paramount Chiefs and Senior Chiefs, Mambwe (1939) and Mulanga (1939) near the capital of the Bisa chief Chibesakunda.

TABLE IV: R C MISSIONS  
AROUND LUBWA 1920-39

Malole	1922
Ilondola	1934
Katibunga	1936
Mulilansolo	1936
Mambwe	1939
Mulanga	1939

In the period under review there was limited social intercourse between the staff of Lubwa and the fathers and brothers of the Roman Catholic mission stations in or around Chinsali District. They met during formal meetings like those of the Chinsali Education Committee, which mainly existed to settle conflicts about the establishment of schools. The Roman Catholics and Protestants had contrasting images of each other, hardly based on facts, but more on emotions and on rumour. The misunderstandings between Reuben Nkashi and the Roman Catholic catechists illustrate this. The Protestants misunderstood the meaning of the mass, of crucifixes, of medals and rosaries, which were completely alien to the Presbyterianism of Scottish origin of Lubwa. The baptism *in articulo mortis* was interpreted, by at least some Protestants, to mean that if a Roman Catholic priest would pray for an old or sick person, he

<sup>1</sup>. BP James Brown, 1950, 'The Good Fight': 92-100.

<sup>2</sup>. UCZ 618, 1942.

<sup>3</sup>. Paul Mushindo, 1973, *The Life*: 27.

would die.<sup>1</sup> The Roman Catholics for their part opposed the 'Protestant principle,' a heresy, which allowed a free interpretation of the Gospel, while church discipline in dogmatic issues was lacking. Roman Catholic and Protestant Africans also differed in social background.

The conflict between Roman Catholics and Protestants may have widened existing rifts in society, like the one between 'real Bemba,' the *Ababemba nkomkome* or *Ababemba nkonko* and those who are not.<sup>2</sup> The definition of a real Bemba is by descent. Every 'real Bemba' is ultimately through birth, descent, succession and marriage related in a way to every other Bemba.<sup>3</sup> The fathers came to Chinsali District with a good number of Roman Catholic families from Malole, all 'real Bemba.' Lubwa Mission, true to its Free Church origin, gave more opportunities to 'commoners,' to people like the Abacinga, the original inhabitants of Ichinga. Although they have Bemba clan names, some people in the district are in fact *Bacipinduka* (persons who emigrated to another tribe) or *Bakanyala* ('the old people').<sup>4</sup> Others with clan names such as Besa (millet) and Ng'oma (tree) are also not pure Bemba as the clans existed already when Chitimukulu with his band of followers came from Lubaland to what is now Bembaland. Paul Mushindo, who was proud to be a maternal grandson of Chief Mwaba Kabundi and related to the *bena Ng'andu*, was an exception at Lubwa.<sup>5</sup> Lubwa Mission also allowed a group of Yeke people, who had settled in Machachali village, to move to

<sup>1</sup>. Fr. H. Marsan accused Dr Brown of having said that '(t)hey are witchcrafts [sic], if they find an old man like you (Mateo Kaputi of Shimwinda) they pray for him, he dies...' (NAZ KTQ 2/1 H. Marsan to DC Chinsali, 30-9-1940, with a testimonial by Mateo Kaputi signed by three witnesses!). This can be considered evidence of the existence of such a rumour, which had its origins in a confusion of the baptism *in articulo mortis* with the Last Ointment (Sacrament of the Sick). The Last Ointment (*Cisubo ca Balwele*) was, also for the Roman Catholics, a symbol of approaching death (Hugo Hinfelaar, 1989, *Religious Change*: 75, note 99).

<sup>2</sup>. Hugo Hinfelaar, 1989, 'Religious Change': 49, 66 note 15, 86 and 115.

<sup>3</sup>. Patrick Mutale Mushindo, no date (1966?), 'Clans and Bemba Houses' (typescript)

<sup>4</sup>. Patrick Mutale Mushindo, 1975, Written evidence to Commission of Enquiry into the suspension of Chief Nkula (typescript).

<sup>5</sup>. Chief Mwaba Kabundi was killed by Chitapankwa in ca. 1867 (A. D. Roberts, 1973, *A History of the Bemba*: 134-5 and Patrick Mutale Mushindo, 1975, *Written Evidence*: 7). Paul Mushindo's mother was *umwina-Ngulube* on her mother's side and *umwina-Ng'andu* through her father Chief Mwaba (Mushindo, 1973: 2-3). The younger brother of Paul Mushindo, however, was a Roman Catholic (Paul Mushindo, 1973, *The Life*: 16).

Mpyana Bwalya.<sup>1</sup> These commoners began to use the totems of their clans as their surnames. This custom derived from teachers who came from Nyasaland. It could, however, also be interpreted as the search for an identity from a period before the arrival of the *bena Ng'andu* rulers in the area.<sup>2</sup>

The personal background of missionaries was another factor in the conflict between Protestants and Roman Catholics in Chinsali District. Both MacMinn and Dr Brown were in a way 'self-made men,' who had reached their positions of authority the hard way through self-sacrifice and home study. MacMinn had joined Livingstonia in 1893 as a printer, and had managed through hard study of theology, Hebrew and Greek to get 'ordained on the field' as a minister.<sup>3</sup> MacMinn retired from active mission work in 1931, but continued to do mission work and linguistic work privately from Mpandala, a house on the estate of Shiwa Ng'andu bought from Gore-Browne.<sup>4</sup> He was assisted by Paul Mushindo, head teacher of Mpandala school.<sup>5</sup> MacMinn was succeeded as missionary-in-charge by David Brown. Brown grew up in a poor family in Motherwell, where violent conflicts took place between Roman Catholics and Protestants, brought in by Irish and Ulster immigrants. At the age of twelve Brown worked as a hammer-boy in a steel works. In his early twenties he left for Canada, where he became a qualified bricklayer. He financed his study for a medical degree at MacGill University by working in the summer months as a bricklayer. After his graduation in 1910 he

<sup>1</sup>. UCZ 771 Lubwa Station Staff meetings, February 1931. Information Patrick Mutale Mushindo, September 1983.

<sup>2</sup>. Hugo Hinfelaar, 1989, 'Religious Change': 48 and 140 nt. 25, and Patrick Mutale Mushindo, no date (1966), 'Clans and Clan names, Part III' (typescript). See also below Appendix I: List of the first one hundred members of Lubwa Church.

<sup>3</sup>. However with the provision that he would not be allowed to accept a call from a congregation in Scotland. In his correspondence with MacMinn Dr Laws consistently addressed him as Mr. MacMinn. Malcolm Moffatt of Chitambo and Dr Chisholm of Mwenzo had a similar ordination 'on the mission field.' Some Africans at Lubwa concluded that MacMinn was not a real minister, but 'only an evangelist.' MacMinn himself, however, insisted on drawing a distinction between ordained and lay members of the church (Fergus Macpherson, 1973, 'Note on Paul Mushindo', in: Paul Mushindo, *The Life* 1973: xxiv).

<sup>4</sup>. Rev. Malcolm Moffatt had also started a private mission at Kalwa in 1931 on his retirement as missionary at Chitambo (A. G. Buckle, 1976, *A History of Serenje District - Part 2*, Serenje [cyclostyle]: 95-98).

<sup>5</sup>. Paul Mushindo, 1973, *The Life*: 25-27. According to Mushindo the White Fathers built Katibunga in response to the challenge of MacMinn from Mpandala.



returned to Scotland, where he studied theology in his spare time. In 1914 he was ordained as a minister of the United Free Church of Scotland. In 1916 he joined the Royal Army Medical Corps as a medical doctor with the rank of Captain, and served on the battlefields of Flanders and Italy. In 1920 he was appointed to Itete in Tanganyika as a Livingstonia missionary.<sup>1</sup> He joined Lubwa Mission in 1927 as its first medical doctor.

Fr. van Sambeek was appointed Vicar Apostolic of the Vicariate of Tanganyika in November 1936. He was succeeded by the German priest Heinrich Horst, who was consecrated as a Bishop and appointed Apostolic-Vicar of Lwangwa on 14 August 1938. Lwangwa Vicariate was to become a German mission as an experiment to make a better identification possible between the German province of the White Fathers and the mission field, at a time of increased German nationalism. In November 1934 Ilondola was already staffed with four German nationals, named Himmler, Thimann, Pfister and Rautenberg. In June 1935 Lwangwa had five German<sup>fa</sup>thers, two Dutch and one French father, and seven German brothers.<sup>2</sup> Bishop Horst, with a certificate in education from London, continued to give priority to educational development of the mission. The fact however that Ilondola became a 'German mission' can not have helped to improve relations with Dr Brown who had fought the Germans in the First World War.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>. Livingstonia Mission had taken over Itete from the Lutheran Berlin Missionary Society, when the British Government had expelled the German missionaries after World War I (John McCracken, 1977, *Politics*: 229-230 and John Iliffe, 1979, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, Cambridge: 256-260)

<sup>2</sup>. WFA 215077 Lwangwa Prospectus status missionis pro archivo curiae generalitiae, 9-8-1935.

<sup>3</sup>. Dr Brown said in 1940 according to Fr. Marsan: 'They (the White Fathers, or the Germans) have caused the War in our country. We hate them because we are the owners of the country' (NAZ KTQ 2/1 H. Marsan, Mulilansolo Mission, to DC Chinsali, 30-9-1940, with testimonial of Mateo Kaputi of Shimwinda). It is questionable that Dr Brown expressed himself in this way, but one can see here how rumours aggravated the conflict between the two missions. Dr Brown, in fact, denied in a letter to the DC that he had made such a remark (NAZ KTQ 2/1 Dr Brown to DC Chinsali, 22-10-1940). Bishop Horst complained to Brelsford, the Chinsali DC, that, because of their German origin, the White Fathers were now nicknamed *mukali* (NAZ KTQ 2/1 Horst to Brelsford 24-9-1940).

### 3. Education

Livingstonia Mission had in 1925 four mission stations in Northern Rhodesia: Mwenzo (1894), Chitambo (1905), Lubwa (1913) and Chasefu (1922).<sup>1</sup> But it had a large share in the African education of the Territory. In 1929 33% of the 553 schools of Northern Rhodesia were run by Livingstonia and 30 % of the 24,244 pupils in the country were attending these schools. From 1930 onwards schools were divided into graded (government supported and inspected) schools, and ungraded schools which did not meet certain minimal criteria of quality. Between 1930 and 1939 10 - 12 % of all graded schools fell under Livingstonia and 10 - 17 % of all pupils. The results of government examinations also showed the prominent role of Livingstonia. In 1932 8.5 % of the 71 successful candidates for the Government Teachers' Certificate came from Lubwa alone. In January 1935 21 successful candidates for the Government St. 4 examination, and 6 successful candidates for the St. 6 examination, came from Lubwa. In 1937 19 % of the 42 pupils who passed the St. 4 examination, and 23 % of the 138 pupils who passed the St. 6 examination, were presented by Livingstonia. The White Fathers Mission, which entered the educational field much later, could present only 8 % (48) of the 582 St. 4 graduates, and 8 % of the St. 6 graduates.<sup>2</sup>

In 1924 the Colonial Office had taken over the government of Northern Rhodesia. It was much more inclined to support the educational and medical work of the missions than its predecessor, the BSA Company. In 1925 a sub-department of Native Education was established in the Department of Native Affairs with Geoffrey C. Latham as its Director. In 1930 it became a Department in its own right. Annual recurrent expenditure on African education did not exceed £ 10,000 until 1929-1930. Between 1930 and 1939 recurrent expenditure on African education increased from £ 25,781 to £ 47,694.<sup>3</sup> Government

<sup>1</sup>. In 1924 Livingstonia Mission had handed a fifth station, Tamanda, established in 1912 between Fort Jameson and Lundazi, over to the Dutch Reformed Mission of the Orange Free State.

<sup>2</sup>. ARNE, 1932-38, and NAZ RC/1692.

<sup>3</sup>. Trevor Coombe, 1967, *The Origins of Secondary Education in Zambia. I Policy-making in the Thirties*, in: *African Social Research* (Lusaka), 3: 173-175.

appreciated the work done by Livingstonia in the area of education. In 1935, Conrad Opper, the Acting Director for Native Education in Northern Rhodesia, remarked that the Government was getting better value for money from Livingstonia than from any other mission. 'Its European educationalists are well qualified and of a superior type, its policy is "educational" and "progressive"... its teachers are thoroughly competent fellows with a real pride in their work.'<sup>1</sup> Tyndale-Biscoe, Director of Native Education, found the work of Livingstonia Mission in 1938 'the best of any kind he had seen either in Northern Rhodesia or in Tanganyika.'<sup>2</sup> From the 1930s onwards government grants-in-aid for education began to play an increasingly important role in determining the educational policy of the missions. Activities in the educational field were initiated to satisfy government criteria for grants. In 1929 the Livingstonia missions in Northern Rhodesia received £ 1,308 in government grants. This constituted 71 % of the total mission expenditure on education in Northern Rhodesia. In 1934 the Livingstonia missions received 15 % of the total government expenditure on African education.<sup>3</sup> Government grants covered the greater part of the costs of African and European salaries, boarding costs and educational equipment. Government also made a contribution to building costs. Most of the teachers were communicant church members and as part of their normal duties they would conduct Sunday School classes and would lead the local congregation in worship in their Central School on Sunday mornings. In the period under review we see the development from mission education solely or mainly as a means of evangelism, to education as 'the right of every human being to as full a life as possible.'<sup>4</sup> The general quality of education in the Territory was low. In 1937 there were 1,654 unaided schools with 74,148 pupils; 30,023 pupils were in graded schools. 72 % was in Sub-Standard A and B, 19 %

<sup>1</sup>. NAZ SEC 1/550 C. J. Opper, Native Education. Reports on Mission Societies.

<sup>2</sup>. NAZ SEC 1/550 C. J. Tyndale-Biscoe, 18-1-1938. He was appointed Director in December 1936 after having served in Tanganyika.

<sup>3</sup>. ARNE, 1929-1938.

<sup>4</sup>. NAZ HM 42/1/1 Snelson's Papers: Rev. David Maxwell Robertson to P. D. Snelson, no date.

in Standards (St.) 1 and 2, and 6 % in St. 3 and 4. Only 1 % managed to reach the Upper Middle School of St. 5 and 6. Less than one percent of the pupils was at a Normal (teacher training) school or a vocational school. Lubwa had a similar educational pyramid. In 1938 there were 33 candidates for the St. 4 examination, seven candidates for the elementary teachers examination, and 16 candidates for the St. 6 examination. Lubwa had then 4,909 pupils in ungraded, and 2,009 pupils in graded Central schools. This means that Lubwa had then 2 % of its pupils in St. 4 and 0.3 % in St. 6. This does not take into consideration pupils in ungraded schools. It was extremely difficult to pass through the educational system as can be seen from the educational careers of the following seven pupils.<sup>1</sup>

1. *Luka Chafilwe*, born ca. 1903, went to Lubwa Boarding School in 1923, was baptized in the same year, and finished his St. 6 in 1929. He then became a village teacher, combining it with preaching. In 1930-32 he became a school inspector and a church elder. He then earned 3/- per month. In 1933 he became an evangelist.
2. *James Chipalo*, born in 1905, went to school in 1921-24; then to Tanganyika for work. He was back in 1925 and went again to school, in 1926 back to Tanganyika, and in 1927 to school. He was a teacher in Nkula's village from 1928 to 1931. He was baptized in 1929.
3. *Nasion Chiti Nkonde*, born ca. 1915, went to school in Nkula's village from 1924-27; was in Luanshya from 1927 to 1929. He did then his St. 1 in Nkula. In 1931 he went for his St. 2 and 4 to Lubwa. He failed the entry exam for St. 5 three times! He did then Normal 1 and 2 (teacher training). From 1937 to 1957 he was teacher at different village schools in the district.
4. *Joseph Bwali*, born 1914, went to school in Chibesa's village in 1928, then to the boarding school in Lubwa in 1930. He worked for one year in Tanganyika as a capitao on a sisal estate. He began teaching in 1944 and was headmaster at various central schools

<sup>1</sup>. Interviews Chinsali District, 1978-1980, and 1982.

in the district.

5. *John Kamana*, born 1918 in Maluba. He did his St. 6 in 1939. He started as a pupil teacher, and then taught at different central schools in the district till his retirement.
6. *Joseph Mulenga Mwanabamba*, born 1922 near Chinsali. He went to Lubwa for his Substandard A till St. 2, because his brother was a clerk for Dr Brown. He was baptized in 1944. He did his St. 4 in 1945, and went then for a two years course to the Senga Agricultural Training School. He finally became a foreman with the Government Printing Office in Lusaka.
7. *Sam Webi Mumba*, born 1923 at Lubwa Mission. He was baptized in the same year. He did all his schooling in Lubwa till his St. 6 in May 1942. He then became a pupil teacher. From 1944-46 he went to the Jeanes School for teacher training<sup>1</sup>. From 1946 onwards he served the government as a teacher, headmaster, manager of schools and finally as an education officer.

Those who lived near the mission or had relatives employed by the mission had a greater opportunity to benefit from the educational system. Education was often interrupted by periods of migrant labour. Primary education in the higher grades was often adult education. There was a special strain on able-bodied young men attending school in their late teens and early twenties, just when they could have been most productive either at home or in wage labour. The age of entry went down rapidly in the 1930s, as more parents saw the value of education. In 1935 the youngest boys in St. 2 were both ten years old. One was Kenneth David, youngest son of the late Rev. David Kaunda, the other was the son of Levi Kaleya, the Senior Teacher at Lubwa Training School. By 1937 the average age in the classes had dropped by three years since 1930.<sup>2</sup> There was only a limited number of places in higher grades, and

<sup>1</sup>. The Jeanes and Agricultural School was established in 1929 at Mazabuka with J. R. Fell as its first Principal. Grants from the Beit Bequest and the Carnegie Corporation helped to build the school. The Jeanes School was to produce leaders in village development and extension work (P. D. Snelson, 1974, *Educational Development* 157).

<sup>2</sup>. NAZ RC/1692: 106 Report General Assembly Church of Scotland, FMC, 1937: 730.

selective entrance examinations cut down the number of candidates.<sup>1</sup> School fees were charged and these were higher in the higher grades. This financial factor also had an adverse effect on progression through the educational system. In 1930 the school fees ranged from 1d. per month for Class 1 of the vernacular school and 6d. per month for St. 1, to 4/- and 5/- per term for St. 5 and 6 on station schools. The Lubwa Higher Middle School and the Normal Course charged respectively £ 2 per year for St. 5 and 6, and £ 1 per year for Normal 1 and 2. Normal 3 was free.<sup>2</sup> Half of the fees could be paid in the form of food. Books, pencils, and uniforms were provided free of charge by the school. At the station school food was also provided by the school. At that time however an untrained teacher and a catechist would earn only £ 2 to £ 3 per year. It is not clear how they could be expected to pay these fees for the education of one or more of their own children and those of their relatives.

In 1929 the Livingstonia Mission Council decided to open a new teacher training centre for the four stations in Northern Rhodesia and the Uyombe District. The mission needed trained teachers not only for their schools, but also 'to help and strengthen a struggling and growing Church...' Agricultural training would be part of the course but it was intended to give this at Chitambo. Pupils who finished training at Lubwa would go to Chitambo for their agricultural training.<sup>3</sup> The Government promised to pay the salary (£ 300 per year) of the Principal, and to provide £ 450 of the £ 600 building costs of the school, and £ 750 of the £ 1,000 costs of dormitory accommodation for 150 boys. Another £ 200 was received from the Beit Trust.<sup>4</sup> Rev. David Maxwell Robertson, MA, from Loudon in Nyasaland, was appointed as Principal and he arrived with his wife, Mrs Robertson, neé Petrie, from Khondowe, in Lubwa in 1930. Maxwell Robertson, was an ordained minister, but his whole salary was met by a government grant. While inspecting schools in the District, the Principal conducted communion services in the villages. The

<sup>1</sup>. NAM LI 1/3/21.

<sup>2</sup>. NAM LI 1/3/20.

<sup>3</sup>. *Livingstonia News*, 15 (Oct.), 1928: 59, and NAM LI 1/3/18, June 1933.

<sup>4</sup>. NAM LI 1/3/18: 47/13, and *Livingstonia News*, 15 (Oct.), 1928: 59 and 63.

Government supported in this way, from 1930, purely evangelistic work of the mission. This was a very unusual situation for a mission with a *Free Church* tradition. The Foreign Mission Committee realized the danger to their evangelistic work arising from this financial dependence on the Government. In 1928 it remarked that the partnership with the Government should not lead to a 'purely utilitarian education,' but to 'character building under the influence of Jesus on men's and women's mind...' <sup>1</sup> Lubwa Training School consisted initially of: (1) a Lower Middle School (St. 3 and 4), (2) the Normal Course for teachers of the elementary course, and (3) the Normal Course for teachers of Lower Middle Schools. This was a two years' course following on the elementary teachers course. These students spent most of their time teaching at the Lower Middle School.<sup>2</sup> Maxwell Robertson introduced a number of innovations in his school.<sup>3</sup> To promote self government he organised the school in 1933 on the lines of the Boy Scout Movement. The entire school was enrolled as the First Pathfinder Troop, Northern Rhodesia. It was divided into Patrols, each under a Patrol Leader. Patrols organised their own discipline and lived, ate and worked together.<sup>4</sup> The name *Pathfinder* is very important. In South Africa, and thus in the Rhodesias, white leaders of the Scouts refused to let blacks in. These could *only* be 'Pathfinders.'<sup>5</sup> Robertson's second innovation was the introduction in 1934, when St. 4 teachers were available, of the Central School system. A Central School was a weekly boarding school. Children would come to the school on Mondays with food for five days. They lived under the supervision of a village elder or matron in huts that they had built themselves. On Fridays the children would return to their own villages.

<sup>1</sup>. *Report to the General Assembly, FMC, 1928*: 46.

<sup>2</sup>. NAM LI 1/3/18 Lubwa Training School.

<sup>3</sup>. Maxwell Robertson had, soon after his appointment, insisted that Lubwa Training School would function administratively and financially independent of Lubwa Mission.

<sup>4</sup>. *Report to the General Assembly, FMC, 1930*: 100; ARNE, 1934: 19, and TI Robert Kaunda, 8-12-1979.

<sup>5</sup>. In 1949 the names Pathfinder and Wayfarer were replaced by Scout and Guide in the Boy Scout and Girl Guide Ordinance (ARNE, 1949: 45). There is some irony in the fact that the Afrikaans speaking section of the Boy Scouts in the Union of South Africa, founded in 1931, called themselves 'Voortrekker' and 'Padvinder,' in recognition of the Boers taking part in the Great Trek.

These were really 'self help' schools. The schools were completely independent financially, except for the salaries of the teacher, two thirds of which were paid by Government. During the weekend the Central School teachers visited villages in the neighborhood to teach Subst. A classes.<sup>1</sup> The system had the advantage of reducing the number of small Substandard village schools, and it enabled the mission to concentrate on larger, better equipped schools. In 1938 Lubwa had 23 such Central Schools, nine of which had more than one hundred pupils.

Maxwell Robertson shared the views of mission educationalists of the 1930s, who saw the full life for the Africans as life in the rural areas. Africans had to be protected from the vices of industrial society, which did not acknowledge God, which had 'no Sabbath respect, no reverence for purity of women, which drinks and gets drunk - absorbed by the desire to make money.'<sup>2</sup> Education had to be practical and directed towards development of the village economy. Agricultural training began to form an important part of the curriculum, just as building and carpentry for boys, and house craft (or 'home craft') for girls. However, the practical subjects were not popular at school as education was seen by most pupils and parents as an avenue for the 'collar and tie' jobs, which gave status and influence. The curriculum of Lubwa Training School was practically orientated. In 1934 an agriculturist, Paul Sykes, was appointed to instruct the teachers in the effective maintenance of village school gardens.<sup>3</sup> The pupils had their own gardens and sold the produce to the school.<sup>4</sup> School subjects included wood carving, iron working, mat and palm weaving, wire working and brush making. All desks, tables and forms were made by pupils. All senior pupils, including those from other schools at the station, were put to brick- and tile- making, road construction, roofing

<sup>1</sup>. Report to the General Assembly, FMC, 1936: 593. See also: NAZ HM 42/1/1 Snelson's Papers: Letter from M. J. Pearce, Headmistress of Mwenzo Girls' School, 1928-1957, Robertson, and L. M. Ndhlovu, a former pupil at Chasefu and Lubwa (St. 3 in 1933).

<sup>2</sup>. Report to the General Assembly, FMC, 1928: 46.

<sup>3</sup>. ARNE, 1934: 38.

<sup>4</sup>. Interview Manasse Sam Ng'oma, Mundu, 3-6-1982.



and thatching, tree-felling and sawing.<sup>1</sup> It was the express policy of Robertson to mix the pupils on a tribal basis. This aroused in 1935 the wrath of the 'Bemba Council' which wrote an angry letter to the mission calling for the transfer of Robertson, threatening not to allow the school to exist any longer in the country, and to join the Roman Catholic Church! The complaint was that '(w)e have been confused to understand with other African children who are coming for education here.' This would 'destroy our country.'<sup>2</sup> The Bemba who wrote the letter may have considered Lubwa Training School a Bemba school, and did not like it to serve other tribes as well. Lubwa Training School may initially indeed have appealed to feelings of Bemba chauvinism. Lubwa was selected as a location for the school not only because it was centrally placed in relation to the other three Livingstonia stations, but also because it was the centre of ChiBemba, then considered the official language of North Eastern Rhodesia.<sup>3</sup> In the 1930s a very large proportion of the resources of the mission went into Lubwa Training School. Lubwa began to concentrate more on quality education for a few in the protected and controlled environment of a station boarding school, rather than on mass education in the villages away from the station, though this was not yet the official policy. Villages would get ungraded *Kindergarten* or *Catechist 'Bush'* schools. It is doubtful if education up to the level of St. 1 and 2 managed to eradicate illiteracy. A major aim of the ungraded schools seems to have been to satisfy the desire of the village people for a school, and the desire of the mission 'to occupy' a village caught up in the religious rivalry between Ilondola and Lubwa. In September 1938 Maxwell Robertson started a St. 7 class with nine St. 6 pupils. This was the first form of secondary education in the Territory. The course was started because the pupils were considered too young for teacher training (the youngest was only thirteen years old), so a further general training was offered to them. The course was discontinued in 1940 when

<sup>1</sup>. UCZ 529, Lubwa Station Report, 1927, and *Livingstonia News*, 15 (Jan.), 1928: 27.

<sup>2</sup>. NAZ RC 1692: 32, Letter Bemba Council to Lubwa Mission, 20-5-1935, and SEC 2/750 Tour Report, No. 4, 1938.

<sup>3</sup>. NAM LI 1/3/18 Lubwa Training School, Min. 26, p. 172, June 1933, quoting decision of Mission Council taken in 1929.

Munali Training Centre in Lusaka began to offer secondary training.<sup>1</sup>

Women played an important role in Bemba society. They were 'the power behind the scenes' according to a District Commissioner in 1935.<sup>2</sup> Marriages were uxori-local. The mother-in-law played an important role. Girls were initiated into womanhood on reaching puberty in a women-only secret ceremony *chisungu*. It could be viewed as an effort of women to gain control over male-female relationships through female sexuality and fertility. The traditional idea about female fertility was that men had only an unimportant role in human reproduction. The semen of the man had a function similar to that of rain on the field.<sup>3</sup> In the *chisungu* ceremony the aspirant husband of the girl being initiated had a very subservient role. At a given time in the ceremony he was for instance asked to take his bow, and strike an eye painted on the wall with an arrow, the symbol of his manhood. He had to perform this under the teasing and ridicule of the village matrons.<sup>4</sup> There were (and still are) many taboos related to sexual relationships to prevent sexual relationships doing harm to the family and society as a whole.<sup>5</sup> Migrant labour however made a new source of power available for men. It provided access to money, consumer goods, and status. In mission education and in the church men also dominated. Yet the mission made special efforts for the advancement of women through the Women's Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland (WFM). The WFM provided Lubwa in 1923 with a European woman, Christine Masterton, and the salaries of her African assistants. These had to set up projects to

<sup>1</sup>. P. D. Snelson, 1974, *Educational Development*: 233, and Trevor Coombe, 1968, 'The Origins of Secondary Education in Zambia. Part 3: Anatomy of a Decision, 1937-9', in: *African Social Research* (Lusaka), 5: 384-385. The following students completed the course at Lubwa in 1939: Julius Nyirenda, Alfred Gondwe, Frederick Mulenga, Ian Njambi and Titus Kaleya. Alfred Gondwe became Minister of Education in a pre-Independence government.

<sup>2</sup>. ARNE, 1935: 38.

<sup>3</sup>. Information Hugo Hinfelaar, 1985. The decline in the position of women in ritual, religious, social and economic affairs is the main subject of his doctoral thesis (Hinfelaar, 1989, 'Religious Change').

<sup>4</sup>. Information given by Fr. J.J. Corbeil to author, when visiting the Moto-Moto Museum, Mbala, December 1977. See also J. J. Corbeil, 1982, *Mbusa. Sacred Emblems of the Bemba*, London: 22-3, on the position of the bridegroom.

<sup>5</sup>. For an analysis of the *chisungu* ceremony see also: Audrey Richards, 1956 (second ed. 1982), *Chisungu*, London. Richards (1956: 139) noted in the early 1930s that *chisungu* was becoming less frequent and less elaborate.

advance the position of women. Helen Kaunda, the wife of David Kaunda, was given charge of the Lubwa Women's School. Subjects like sewing, housewifery, 'the native cooking pot,' oil and soap making, starch making and gardening were taught here besides the normal classroom subjects.<sup>1</sup> The school had 159 pupils in 1925. Sewing classes were organized at village schools within five miles of the station. In addition to this women's schools were organized in the villages. The WFM had also a school for the wives of teachers who came to the station for their annual refresher course. A model village was constructed with rondavels to illustrate what had been taught in housewifery, home making and hygiene. With this training the teacher's wives could be engaged as part-time helpers for the teaching of domestic subjects in the village schools.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, 23 women were then active as voluntary 'bible women' and teachers.<sup>3</sup>

Mission educationalists realized the importance of education for female advancement.<sup>4</sup> They did not manage, however, to attract girls in sufficient numbers to their schools. In 1920 there were 223 men and 10 women at the training school for teachers. In 1935 there was only one girl among the 21 successful candidates who sat for the St. 4 government exam, and there was no girl at all among the six candidates who sat for the St. 6 exam at Lubwa.<sup>5</sup> In 1938 47 % of the pupils at the lowest level of the educational pyramid, the *Kindergarten sub 'Bush'* schools of Lubwa consisted of girls, but only 22 % of the pupils of graded Central Schools of Lubwa were girls, where they were found mainly in the sub-grades or the lowest grades.<sup>6</sup> One of the reasons for the underrepresentation of girls at the schools was that all pupils entered school when already somewhat older. But girls were not allowed to continue with their education, because before or on reaching puberty girls were removed from the schools by their parents. The White Fathers

<sup>1</sup>. UCZ 592, and P. D. Snelson, 1974, *Educational Development*: 62.

<sup>2</sup>. TI Rev. D. Maxwell Robertson, Pittenweem, 14-1-1981; *ARNE*, 1938: 42.

<sup>3</sup>. UCZ 592.

<sup>4</sup>. For instance: Committee on the Education of African Women, London, 21-7-1925 (SOAS IMC/CBMS Box 207/1).

<sup>5</sup>. UCZ 592 UFCS, Lubwa Mission Annual Returns, 1914-1938.

<sup>6</sup>. UCZ 592, 1938.

even had the rule that girls should leave the school once they had attained puberty.<sup>1</sup> For further education, beyond St. 1, some travelling was often necessary. This was considered difficult for girls.<sup>2</sup> There were very few women on the African teaching staff who might convince girls of the usefulness of education and encourage them by their example. The absence of career possibilities for girls, both in the church and in the schools, made the education of girls appear unattractive to parents, especially because of the school fees involved. The District Commissioners' Conference (DCC) of Northern Province was aware of this problem and suggested in 1936 that girls should be trained for domestic employment in European households and in nursing.<sup>3</sup> This was not really practical. There were not more than a dozen Europeans in the whole of Chinsali District. Lubwa Hospital employed then only four women as nurses. The average school attendance of those girls who went to school was 10 to 15 % lower than that of boys. Girls were because of this at a disadvantage in the competitive entrance examinations for the higher grades. Girls' boarding schools were set up in order to create a suitable environment to keep girls in the schools. Government assisted Lubwa in 1928 to build dormitories for girl boarders and a special boarding grant for girls was given of £ 2 per girl per year. For boys the boarding grant was only 10/- per year.<sup>4</sup> In 1924 Lubwa had twelve girls at the girls' boarding school, and in 1930 sixteen.<sup>5</sup>

#### 4. Health Care.

Until the 1930s hardly any medical services existed for Africans in the Territory. In 1930 'only the fringe of medical work (was) being touched.' In 1936 'very large numbers of natives ... (were) totally out of reach of medical aid.' Ten out of the twelve government doctors in the Territory were doing medical work mainly for European patients. The 23 rural

<sup>1</sup>. WFA File 21 41 17, van Sambeek, 22-1-1930. This rule had to be maintained even 'en pays protestant.'

<sup>2</sup>. Interview Luka Chafilwe, 27-5-1982.

<sup>3</sup>. NAZ SEC 2/180 DCC Northern Province, 11 to 14-5-1935.

<sup>4</sup>. P. D. Snelson, 1974, *Educational Development*: 162; *Report to the General Assembly, FMC*, 1930: 100, and *Livingstonia News*, 15 (1928): 40.

<sup>5</sup>. UCZ 592; P. D. Snelson, 1974: 62.

dispensaries had 'very imperfectly trained native assistants.' Only three of those missions engaged in medical work employed a medical doctor.<sup>1</sup> Livingstonia Mission employed then one medical doctor in Northern Rhodesia, Dr Brown of Lubwa. Very little is known about the health situation of Africans in this period. Dr Walter Fisher of Kalene Hill estimated in 1924 that the death rate of children under three years of age was at least 75 % in most districts.<sup>2</sup> T. Jesse Jones of the East-African Education Commission (the Phelps-Stoke Commission) estimated African infant mortality in 1924 at 50-90 %.<sup>3</sup> The nurse, Ruth Service, made in 1935 a survey in eight villages near the mission. She found that 81 children were born in that year (35 male and 46 female children). Four babies had died in their first and five in their second year. This would give an infant mortality rate (children under three) of about 5 - 6 % (9 out of 162 or 4 out of 81). These very favourable figures could well be attributed to the hygiene and health care program of Lubwa Hospital as she made her survey in the proximity of the hospital.<sup>4</sup> Bishop Horst did a similar survey in 1940. Among 319 families surveyed he found fourteen deaths of children, and four of adults. Half of these children were one year or younger; half of them between one and five years old.<sup>5</sup> If infant mortality is at a rate three and a half times that of adults, then it must have been quite high. Gore-Browne in his speech at the opening of Lubwa Hospital in 1936 mentioned that 60 % of Africans were rejected when applying for a job at the mines, because of ill-health and malnutrition.<sup>6</sup>

Livingstonia Mission and Lubwa gave medical work a relatively

<sup>1</sup>. R. R. Kuczynski, 1949, *Demographic Survey of the British Colonial Empire*, Vol. II, London: 505.

<sup>2</sup>. SOAS IMC/CBMS General Missionary Conference, 1924, Appendix V: 67.

<sup>3</sup>. *Report of the Proceedings of the GMC 1924*: 37. The European infant mortality was then 10 %. Jesse Jones defined infant mortality as death rate of children less than twelve months old.

<sup>4</sup>. NAZ SEC 2/1298 Annual Report Native Affairs, Chinsali, 1935-7. Dr Brown claimed successes from this emphasis on modern medicine. In 'welfare villages' in 1936 infant mortality was one-third of that in other villages (BP Circular Letter, 29-2-1936).

<sup>5</sup>. NAZ KTQ 2/1 Vol. 2 Horst to Brelsford, DC Chinsali, 27-7-1940.

<sup>6</sup>. Gore-Browne, at opening Lubwa Hospital, quoted in: *Mutende*, 4 (June), 1936: 10. Gore-Browne in his maidenspeech in the Legislative Council in December 1935 strongly attacked the Government's neglect of African health (*Mutende*, 4 (June); 1936: 10; R. I. Rotberg, 1977, *Black Heart*: 176-179).

high priority. The ministry of healing was seen as an integral part of their activities, aimed at 'the cure of the whole man, body, mind and spirit.'<sup>1</sup> However, there is a difference between the missionary approach to healing on the one hand, and the biblical and the African traditional approach to healing on the other hand. Christ himself had combined preaching and healing, but unlike the university educated Scottish missionaries, he used more a 'magical-unscientific method' of healing, in fact very similar to the methods employed by the traditional healer, the *ng'anga*. There is then some irony in the fact that the mission offered the modern pragmatic and rationalistic approach to healing in order to *undermine* the trust the people had in the efficacy of the *ng'anga*. The *ng'anga*, the 'witch-doctor', was seen as the personification of 'the devilish influence of agelong superstition, unfounded prejudice and the enmity of the natural heart towards God.'<sup>2</sup> The teaching of simple physiology, hygiene and sanitation, along with the instillation of Christian truth, would gradually liberate the African from his traditional beliefs with regard to healing.

The wife of MacMinn was a trained nurse, but in October 1923 a full time nurse, Ruth Service, was employed by Lubwa for its dispensary, and in 1927 Dr Brown arrived from Itete. Between 1928 and 1938 an average of 35,000 treatments were given per year to outpatients (Table V), and to a much smaller number of inpatients.<sup>3</sup> The number of inpatients was 80 in 1926, 112 in 1928, and 197 in 1930.<sup>4</sup>

Patients were also seen on village tours, on *ulendo*. In 1936 a new hospital was opened with twelve wards and 24 beds. The building was financed by a donation of £ 750 from Miss Cunningham of Annandale, and a by a government grant of £ 250. In 1938 the hospital had thirty

<sup>1</sup>. BP Christian Medical Work Conference, St. Colm's, April 1947. Dr Brown attended this conference.

<sup>2</sup>. BP Dr Brown, Circular Letter, 25-12-1928.

<sup>3</sup>. UCZ 592.NAM LI 1/9/2 Statistics for Livingstonia Mission, Lubwa, Medical Mission Work, 1919-1927; LOA Mission Medical Returns, 1929-1936. In 1932 Dr Brown was on leave.

<sup>4</sup>. UCZ 592.

beds and three cots; 41 major and 358 minor operations were done.<sup>1</sup> In 1938 missions subsidized by Government treated in the whole of the territory 108,640 outpatients.<sup>2</sup> Lubwa Hospital treated then 34 % [!] of all outpatients in the Territory, evidence of its leading role in the provision of health services at that

time. In 1938 it had a staff of

eleven: one medical doctor, four nurses, four medical assistants and two other workers. The mission was also active in preventive health care. Hygiene, nutrition and health care were part of the curriculum of all schools. A Hygiene Primer in ChiBemba was much in demand and had several reprints.<sup>3</sup> In 1930 Dr Brown introduced an advanced three years' Normal Teachers 'Dispensers' Course. The course qualified teachers to be put in charge of small central school dispensaries. In 1938 there were eleven such dispensaries.<sup>4</sup> A special church service was held on New Year's Day, as part of child welfare activities, and a gift of baby clothes was made to mothers 'worth of them by attendance and care of their babies.'<sup>5</sup> In 1939 a 'Welfare Clinic's Baby Show' was organised which attracted some two hundred mothers<sup>6</sup> (see photograph 21, p. 283). The mission reached as many people with its medical activities as with its educational and evangelistic activities. In the absence of reliable statistics it is, however, difficult to assess the impact of Lubwa's medical work on the health situation of the district.

TABLE V: LUBWA: OUTPATIENTS ATTENDED, 1926-38

1925	-	1932	21,524
1926	8,200	1933	35,400
1927	12,225	1934	38,593
1928	31,108	1935	37,137
1929	28,573	1936	40,317
1930	33,429	1937	-
1931	-	1938	36,756

<sup>1</sup>. LOA Mission Medical Returns to: The Director Medical and Sanitary Service, Livingstone.

<sup>2</sup>. *Report of the Proceedings of the GMC*, 1939: Dr A. C. Fisher on medical work.

<sup>3</sup>. This Hygiene Primer *Umwakumweno bumi* with Mrs. MacMinn as the author, was published in London by the Christian Literature Society (no date).

<sup>4</sup>. BP Circular Letter, 16-3-1931, and 6-2-1939; UCZ 592 Annual Report Lubwa Station by Dr. Brown, 1938.

<sup>5</sup>. BP Dr Brown, Circular Letter, 20-2-1936; TI Mannasse Sam Ng'oma, 3-6-1982.

<sup>6</sup>. BP Circular Letter, 6-2-1939; BP Photograph Album with a picture of the show.

### 5. Economic development

The missionaries and educationalists of the 1920s painted an idyllic picture of rural life, contrasting it with the disruptive life in the towns and on the mines of Southern Africa. Their development ideal could be illustrated by MacMinn's picture of Lubwa Mission in 1928. 'There are broad roads lined with fruit trees and flowering shrubs. There is an orchard with considerable variety of fruit in abundance, a flower garden with roses, etc., that do the eye and heart good to see, and vegetable gardens that contribute to the health of the staff.'<sup>1</sup> Rural development was thought to come about through an adapted, practically oriented curriculum. 'Literary' education had to alternate with productive work on the school farm or in building. Already in 1927, when in Loudon, Maxwell Robertson thought about the problem of linking up education with village life, to counteract the move to the industrial centers of Rhodesia and Belgian Congo.<sup>2</sup>

The Presbyterian ideal was to have a self-governing, self-propagating and self-supporting church. This required a sound economic base of rural productivity. The congregation had at least to be able to pay the salary of its own minister. Migrant labour was for a number of reasons thought harmful for the church as it would lead to a break up of family and to immorality. The mission-educationalists of the time did not sufficiently realize that neither pre-colonial nor colonial agricultural production achieved rural self-sufficiency on a long term basis. Famines were a regular feature in the colonial period in Northern Rhodesia as attested by notes in the district tour reports and the annual reports of the missions themselves. In 1931 for instance there was insufficient rain in the district, which led to food shortages. Gore-Browne in his maiden speech for the Legislative Council in December 1935 also referred to regular famine conditions in the rural areas.<sup>3</sup> There was no protection against locust invasions until the enforced introduction of root crops, such as cassava, in the 1930s. The effects of such locust attacks were

<sup>1</sup>. *Report for 1928 of the Foreign Mission Committee UFCS*: 43, quoting a letter written by MacMinn.

<sup>2</sup>. UCZ 927 UCCAR Church of Scotland Reports, 1927-29, 1965.

<sup>3</sup>. *Mutende*, 4 (June), 1936: 10, and R. I. Rotberg, 1977, *Black Heart*: 177.



devastating. In 1932 and 1934 these invasions caused famine over practically the whole of Northern Rhodesia. In Kayambi certain villages were completely evacuated.<sup>1</sup> In 1944 there was again 'a severe condition of hunger, almost amounting to famine' in the district.<sup>2</sup>

Lubwa made serious efforts to encourage agriculture in the district. Agriculture was a compulsory subject in the curriculum. A mission farm was set up, which partly functioned as a model farm for the surrounding area. In 1933 the Mission Council of Livingstonia decided to rent 2,000 acres of land adjacent to the mission to start a farm for Lubwa station and Lubwa Training School.<sup>3</sup> Lubwa had an orchard with orange and lime trees, a flower garden with roses, and vegetable gardens. In November 1934, as we have seen, Paul Sykes joined the staff of Lubwa Training School as an agricultural and technical instructor. There is no indication at this period that Lubwa's agricultural training influenced the type or quantity of crops grown. In the early 1930s the traditional crops like finger millet (*male*) and kaffir corn (*masaka*) were still the most popular. Maize was then only used as a stand-by in times of food shortages. Cassava was being introduced as a precaution against locust invasions. Pumpkins, marrows, yams (*mumbu*), cucumber, beans and vetch (*ilanda*) were also grown. Tobacco was grown in the Shimwalule-Nkweyo-Nkula area on mounds of old villages and in Chiwale's area. Chiwale, an Nsenga area, also had some rice and groundnuts.<sup>4</sup> Goats were virtually the only livestock apart from a few sheep and cows. Lubwa had a few cows to provide milk for members of staff. In 1932 87 goats were counted in 38 villages of central Chinsali. In eleven villages of Chief Kabanda 44 goats were found, and in 51 villages in East Chinsali 307 goats.<sup>5</sup> In good years there was a surplus production, which was offered for sale in cash. Mr. Jobling, the labour

<sup>1</sup>. WFA Diary Malole, 20-4-1932; *Rapports Annuels*, 27 (1931-32): 117; Lettres de Mgr. Roy, Bangweolo, 29-5-1934 (File 213442-71 and 214232 PNR, 41 1-3-1932).

<sup>2</sup>. UCZ 618 UCCAR Lubwa Mission-Station Reports 1940-1961.

<sup>3</sup>. NAM LI 1/3/18: 182/10.

<sup>4</sup>. NAZ SEC2/749 Tour Report Shimwalule, Nkweto, Nkula area 1932; Chiwale's area February 1933.

<sup>5</sup>. NAZ SEC 2/49 Tour Reports Chinsali, 1931-37, and SEC 2/750 Province Awemba, District Chinsali, Tour Report 1933.

recruiter, had a grain-buying depot on the west bank of the Chambeshi-Chinsali road at Kamangu. Gore-Browne was able to buy 50,000 lbs of grain from African producers in 1932 for  $\frac{1}{2}$  d to  $\frac{3}{4}$  d per lb.<sup>1</sup> Amazingly this was the year when a locust invasion destroyed most of the crops elsewhere in Northern Province.

The main employers in the district in our period were Lubwa Mission, the White Fathers' missions, Shiwa Ng'andu, and the boma. The total number of man-months work in the district increased from 2,760 in 1934, 4,350 in 1935, 3,322 in 1936 to 5,000 in 1937.<sup>2</sup> In 1937 Lubwa employed 92 teachers, 44 evangelists and catechists, ten nurses and medical assistants, and an estimated fifty people in all kinds of other jobs like house servant, cook, carpenter, bricklayer, captao, drummer, hunter, typist, clerk, farm worker, bush car pusher and carrier. Lubwa provided then almost half of the total wage employment in the district. Shiwa Ng'andu provided 200 man-months employment at salaries of 7/6 plus 2/6 *posho* per month (4/- during the rains). The boma employed only two Africans in the senior position of Clerk.<sup>3</sup> During tours the District Commissioner employed a good number of carriers. For instance on touring the Chiwale-Chewe area he used 23 carriers to visit 523 taxable males. The wages of a carrier were enough to pay one's annual tax.<sup>4</sup> Four or five such district tours were made every year.

The salaries Lubwa offered were very low. The untrained and the uncertificated (St. 2) teachers had no monetary incentives to stay with the mission. In 1930 165 teachers earned together £ 306.2s.9d. A beginning teacher earned 7/6 per month, and after six years' service 12/6. He was then entitled to a one-year refresher course, after which the salary increased to 15/-, rising to £ 1 after ten years of service. Unskilled workers were paid 10/- per month by Lubwa. Women's pay was lower: 5/- per month. The only female teacher of the mission, Berita

<sup>1</sup>. NAZ SEC2/749 Tour Report W. F. Stubbs, DC; see also Rotberg, 1977: 138, on Gore-Browne's activities in buying grain from African producers and selling to Government with a small profit.

<sup>2</sup>. NAZ SEC2/1928.

<sup>3</sup>. One of these was Lakement Ng'andu, who became Chitimukulu in 1981, and Member of the Central Committee of UNIP in 1982.

<sup>4</sup>. NAZ SEC 2/749 Tour Report 6-26 02 1933, W. F. Stubbs.

Kaunda,<sup>1</sup> earned only 10/- per month in 1931.<sup>2</sup> In 1938 63 untrained teachers earned £ 2 to £ 3 per year each. The 34 catechists, 13 trained teachers, and teachers on special courses earned salaries ranging from £6.10 to £ 18 per year. The ten evangelists employed by the mission earned between £ 7.10 to £ 13.10 per year. The top salary at Lubwa was for the Presbytery evangelist, Daniel Besa, who received £ 27 per year. European salaries were much higher: the Principal of Lubwa Training School received £ 300, his assistant £ 240, and the school mistress £ 100 per year, all of it paid from a government-grant-in-aid. In addition they had benefits such as home leave, travel allowances, free transport, and a pension.

At the end of 1926 only a few people believed that the Territory had any minerals which could be exploited on a large scale. At the end of 1927 however, 40 million tons of copper ore at a grade of 3.5 % were reported. By the end of 1930 over 500 million tons containing twenty odd million tons of copper were established.<sup>3</sup> The Broken Hill mine began to produce zinc from 1927 onwards, and vanadium from 1928 onwards. The total market value of these mineral reserves was estimated in February 1930 at £ 1.4 billion.<sup>4</sup> In 1934 Northern Rhodesia produced already 12 % of the world supply, and was the fourth largest producer of copper in the world.<sup>5</sup> In the period 1927 to 1937 £ 25 million was invested in the copper industry and its high grade ores. Its modern organization made it possible to produce copper at a profit for a price as low as £ 20 per ton. From 1927 to 1929 there was a construction boom on the Copperbelt, and African employment increased from 10,000 in 1927 to 30,000 in 1930. The economic recession delayed this

<sup>1</sup>. Berita was the youngest daughter of David Kaunda and Helen Nyirenda. She died, only 23 years old, in September 1937 (LOA Baptismal Roll. The Presbyterian Church of Central Africa).

<sup>2</sup>. UCZ 771 Lubwa Station Staff Meetings. Minutes of meeting of 28-7-1930, 31-7-1930 and 5-1-1931

<sup>3</sup>. S. Herbert Frankel, 1938, *Capital Investment in Africa. Its Course and Effects*, London: 248.

<sup>4</sup>. Sir Alan W. Pim and S. Milligan, 1938, *Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Financial and Economic Position of Northern Rhodesia*, London (Pim Report): 19.

<sup>5</sup>. *Raw Materials and the Colonies*, The Royal Institute of International Affairs (Information Department Papers No 18), 1936: 22.

development. In February 1930 the price of copper was still £ 72. It fell to £ 27 per ton in 1931. This led to a decrease in African employment on the Copperbelt, in Broken Hill and also in Katanga, where half of the work-force came from Northern Rhodesia. The Bemba were well represented in all mines, but were never predominant in number. The Copperbelt was initially not very important for Chinsali for employment. The mines of Nkana, Roan Antelope, Mufulira and Broken Hill employed in 1936 288, and in 1937 349 Chinsali residents.<sup>1</sup> Salaries ranged from 17/- to £ 1 per month for surface work, and £ 1.6 to £ 1.12 per month for underground work. An artisan or clerk would earn £ 5 to £ 8 per year. Food, housing and medical services were provided free.<sup>2</sup> This was equal to top salaries offered by Lubwa.

For Chinsali the development of the Lupa goldfield at Chunya near Mbeya in Tanganyika, where alluvial gold was found in 1923, was much more important. Dry-blower machines, introduced in 1936, made it possible to continue the winning of alluvial and eluvial gold throughout the year.<sup>3</sup> The minimum rate of wages was 10/- per month, while for underground work 15/- was paid. In addition one was supposed to receive food rations. The working situation in Lupa was unsatisfactory. In November 1936 Gore-Browne visited Lupa with Ronald Bush, the Chinsali DC. They found that 'the housing and medical conditions were abominable. Africans were dying from scurvy, starvation ... There was total absence of any sanitation. Many never received their pay.' In 1936 Lupa employed 20,000 workers, half of them from Northern Rhodesia. The average worker would stay three to four months. In a year 30,000 - 40,000 workers would find their way from Northern Rhodesia to Lupa and back. The journey from Chinsali to Lupa on foot would take about two weeks.<sup>4</sup>

Generally speaking Katanga, Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and

<sup>1</sup> NAZ SEC 2/1298, and *Pim Report*, 1938: 362.

<sup>2</sup> *Pim Report*: 53.

<sup>3</sup> A. D. Roberts, 1986, The Gold Boom of the 1930s in Eastern Africa, in: *African Affairs*, 85, 341: 555-562.

<sup>4</sup> NAZ SEC2/1298 Annual Reports Native Affairs, Chinsali, and NAZ SEC1/1395 Report on Visit to Lupa Goldfield. Also: R. I. Rotberg, 1977: *Black Heart*: 183-5, quoting a letter of Gore-Browne to Ethel Locke-King about his visit to Lupa.

South Africa were not popular with the Chinsali migrant workers, although some went to these countries and were able to share with their fellow villagers their experiences, making them aware of the labour conditions and the racial relations in the different territories. In 1936 the pattern of labour migration from Chinsali District was as follows. The district then had 5,143 taxable males, while 23 % of all adult males were tax-exempted. An estimated 700 of all taxable males worked outside the district, but within the Territory. The majority of these worked on the Copperbelt, where 350 Chinsali residents had paid their tax. About one hundred worked in Broken Hill. The rest worked in Isoka, Kasama and Mpika District or on the tobacco plantations in the Eastern Province. Those who worked on the Copperbelt stayed away on average for two years. More than 1,300 men worked *outside* Northern Rhodesia, of whom 1,200 were in the Lupa goldfield. Less than a hundred worked in Southern Rhodesia, ten or less in the Congo, and only a handful in South Africa and in Nyasaland.

There was seasonal variation in labour migration, which may indicate that the migrant workers were still contributing to agricultural production at home. In the Nkweto-Shimwalule-Nkula area of the district 72 % of the taxable males were resident in March 1930, 50 % in September 1931, and again 72 % in March 1932.<sup>1</sup> May and June, in the cool dry season, are the months when the men clear plots for planting by cutting branches from the trees. In late January-early February, in the rainy season, the main *male* (finger millet) crop is sown, maize is harvested, and fences are made for the gardens.<sup>2</sup>

In some instances labour migrants moved in a group to the same destination and established a lasting relation between a particular village or area in Chinsali and an employer elsewhere. In the Mwaba-Nkula-Kabanda part of the district 39 out of 467 migrant workers were reported

<sup>1</sup>. NAZ SEC2/750 Tour Reports Chinsali 1933.

<sup>2</sup>. Audrey Richards, 1951, *The Bemba of Northern Rhodesia*, in: E. Colson and M. Gluckman (eds.), *Seven Tribes of British Central Africa*, London: 389. See also: Makoto Kakeya and Yuko Sugiyama, 1985, 'Citemene, Finger Millet and Bemba Culture: A Socio-ecological Study of Slash-and-burn Cultivation in Northeastern Zambia', in: *African Study Monographs*, Supplementary Issue 4 (March): 1-24.

to be employed by the Northern Rhodesia Police in October 1931.<sup>1</sup>

TABLE VI: CHINSALI DISTRICT: LABOUR MIGRATION BY AREA AND MONTH (PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL LABOUR FORCE), 1933

	Jan.	Feb.	March	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.
at work outside NR	7	13	7	46	26	20
at work within NR	4	16	30	12	29	20
living at home	89	71	63	42	45	60
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100

From one village in the Nkula-Chewe-Lunda section of Chinsali ten village people moved to Tanganyika in November-December 1931. The Shimwalule division of the district sent 43 migrant laborers to the sisal plantations in Tanganyika in 1932. In 1936 the estimated proportion of adult males normally absent from their homes in the district, averaged over the whole year, was 29 %. In other districts of Northern Province this was much higher. For Kawambwa labour migration was at 40 % of the taxable males, for Kasama 50 %, for Mporokoso 40 to 70 %, for Abercorn 49 %, and for Fort Rosebery 39 %. Only Mpika and Luwingu districts had similar or lower percentages of labour migration: resp. 29 and 20 %.<sup>2</sup> The low percentage of labour migration for Chinsali, notwithstanding its relatively high level of education, could be an indication of some success of Lubwa Mission in keeping the men at home in the rural areas, mainly because of Lubwa's important role in this period as an employer of labour. The White Fathers' mission played a lesser role here because it did not yet have such an extensive network of schools, but also possibly because it had a much higher number of Europeans employed as priests and as brothers. In October 1936 for instance Lwangwa Mission had a European staff of 36.<sup>3</sup>

The rural reconstruction the missionaries had dreamt of in the 1920s had not really taken place by the end of the 1930s. In the first

<sup>1</sup>. NAZ SEC2/750.

<sup>2</sup>. *Ptm Report*, 1938: 36.

<sup>3</sup>. *Annalen der Afrikaansche Missiën*, 53, 4:134.

place education failed to function as a lever for rural development in the period under review because the educational innovations suggested were based on an inadequate analysis of the socio-economic situation. The Government, with which the mission now co-operated so closely, had a consideration for rural development, and professed to be interested in promoting 'education for rural reconstruction'. But this was never put into practice. Funds for development were absent and it feared that this type of education would harm the supply of labour from the reserves.<sup>1</sup> Labour migration led to an unbalanced demographic situation, to a sex ratio unfavorable for women in the rural areas and to social tensions. With the development of the mines on the Copperbelt, which offered higher salaries than the mission could afford to pay, the possibilities for a successful rural development dwindled. It must also be noted that the curriculum of the new education showed paternalism. Africans, especially those in the higher grades, considered the curriculum inferior to that of European education. The introduction of an extra St. 6 with only practical instruction meant a delay in one's educational career. The Jeanes teachers who were supposed to be jacks of all trades and agents of modernization saw themselves as white-collar workers, as government school-inspectors with a relative high income and status.<sup>2</sup>

A further drawback was that mass education became stuck in the lower grades. Illiteracy was not eradicated. Women were very much underrepresented. With late entry into the school system, they dropped out early, because of early marriages. There was hardly any employment for women with a finished school education, which made education of girls a waste in view of the school fees which had to be paid. Besides women were left out of the system of school and church. The Presbyterian Church was patriarchal. Only men could become deacons and church elders. Women were not allowed to speak in the church, a

<sup>1</sup>. Ian Henderson, 1972, 'Labour and Politics in Northern Rhodesia, 1900-1953', Ph. D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh (unpublished): 126.

<sup>2</sup>. Chinsali District had as its Jeanes teacher the Lubwa-trained Tom Sabi, who also held a function in the Church.

rule derived from Paul.<sup>1</sup> With an increasing number of men away to find work, women carried the main burden of agricultural work, as well as the raising of children, while for the time being they had no access to the new job opportunities provided by the mines and the towns.

There is no historical precedent for development based on rural reconstruction.<sup>2</sup> McCracken (1977) argues that Malawians trained in the schools of Livingstonia managed to obtain many of the better-paid jobs existing in the mines and to monopolize the low-grade salaried posts in the Province. Livingstonia Mission assisted in the transformation of the Northern Province of Malawi into a reservoir of skilled labour rather than in the development of commercial agriculture. It contributed to the expansion of commercial farming in Rhodesia and South Africa at the expense of developments in Malawi itself. But the mission educationalists were not able to exert control over the large scale economic system in Southern Africa, based on cheap labour and its exploitation in the mines and on the commercial farms.<sup>3</sup> There are in my view, however, also positive sides to labour migration. One could view it as a form of 'saving' by the rural areas, which benefits the urban and industrial expansion. The labour migrants themselves on the other hand learn to save and learn to postpone the immediate satisfaction of their needs. This is part of the Calvinistic ethic stressed by the missionaries of Lubwa. This could benefit the rural areas in the long run, when migrants return home to settle with newly acquired skills and some savings to invest in agricultural production or in services (retail trade or transport).<sup>4</sup> This began to happen at Mwenzo, but not yet in Chinsali. It is possible that in patrilineal societies this effect of labour migration

<sup>1</sup>. 'As in all congregations of God's people, women should not address the meeting. They have no licence to speak, but should keep their place as the law directs. If there is something they want to know, they can ask their own husbands at home. It is a shocking thing that a woman should address the congregation' (1 Cor. 14: 34-5). In 1949 this rule was abolished and the first three women were elected as church elders.

<sup>2</sup>. Martin Chanock, 1977, *Law, Custom and the Social Order; the Colonial Experience in Malawi and Zambia*, Cambridge: 396-409.

<sup>3</sup>. John McCracken, 1977, 'Underdevelopment in Malawi: The Missionary Contribution', in: *African Affairs*, 76, 303: 195-204.

<sup>4</sup>. Chilivumbo makes the same observation based on his research in 1979 and 1980 in eight Zambian districts (Alifeyo Chilivumbo, 1985, *Migration and Uneven Rural Development in Africa. The Case of Zambia*, Lanham etc.: 16-17, 94-101)



takes place at a faster rate than in matrilineal societies.<sup>1</sup> According to Watson the patrilineal Mambwe maintained the stability of village groups notwithstanding the disruptive influence of labour migration because of polygyny, high marriage payments, and virilocal residence in marriage. Residential stability was the main factor in the material prosperity of the Mambwe. Cattle keeping may be another factor in making the harmful effects of labour migration less profound. Cattle provides a local possibility of investing the capital earned, and achieving status and additional wives as a result.<sup>2</sup> Chinsali was then at a disadvantage: the incidence of tsetse fly prevented the introduction of cattle on a commercial scale throughout most of the district. Polygyny was in Chinsali District less common than in Isoka District.<sup>3</sup>

Charles Guthrie has observed that in the Mwenzo section of Isoka District between the wars many of the first-generation Livingstonia educated elite returned home and functioned as a transforming and modernizing elite. The 1938 Annual Report of Isoka District mentioned that 'an intelligentsia of shrewd educated people' had begun to initiate innovation in agricultural production. Two began to experiment with ploughs purchased from Tanganyika.<sup>4</sup> The educated elite of Lubwa does

<sup>1</sup>. See Margaret Read, 1942, *The Ngoni and Western Education*, in: Victor Turner (ed.), *Colonialism in Africa, 1870-1960*, Vol. 3, Cambridge, for the patrilineal Ngoni, and Audrey Richards, 1940, *Bemba Marriage and Present Economic Conditions*, Oxford, for the matrilineal Bemba. William Watson, 1958, *Tribal Cohesion in a Money Economy. A Study of the Mambwe People of Zambia*, Manchester, agrees with their conclusions on the basis of his research on the patrilineal Mambwe.

<sup>2</sup>. W. Watson, 1958, *Tribal Cohesion*: 225-8.

<sup>3</sup>. The Chinsali DC, Munday, found in 1931 that 14 % of the women in Chinsali District were polygamously married, while 28 % were deserted, widowed or unmarried. This means that 19 % of the married women were polygamously married. W. V. Brelsford found in 1939 that 32 % of the married men had more than one wife; 10 % of them had inherited their wife (in: Audrey Richards, 1940, *Bemba Marriage*: 119). One would expect a higher percentage of women polygamously married than men. It is then not clear how reliable these figures are. Brelsford excluded from his sample 'better class Bemba' such as clerks, messengers, etc. If we look to estimates for the district population and take the figures for tax paying females, assuming that virtually all adult males were married, we get a percentage of between 6 and 7 % for polygyny in Chinsali District in the years 1926 to 1930. 'Taxable females' were all the second and subsequent wives (NAZ KTQ 2/vol. 1: 114-5; SEC 2/1298). Of the first 70 Christians of Lubwa ten were suspended because of 'second wife' or polygamy. This means that among this group 15 % of the male members became polygamists (LOA Lubwa Church Roll, see Appendix I).

<sup>4</sup>. Charles Guthrie, 1978, 'The Emergence and Decline of a Mission-Educated Elite in North-Eastern Zambia, 1895-1964', Ph. D. Thesis, University of Indiana (unpublished): 199 and 221.

not seem to have played a similar role in this period. But then education at Lubwa also started some twenty years later than at Mwenzo. There was a considerable expansion of the extension work of the mission in the area of education and health, much of this made possible by relatively large government grants-in-aid. However even the government supplemented resources of the mission were insufficient to provide effective mass education, health services for all, and incentives for agricultural development. It was out of necessity 'development on the cheap.' What was offered, was offered to a great number of people, but for a too short period of time to have a lasting impact on the masses.

#### **6. The Church and the mission.**

In the Presbyterian Church the Africans in theory ruled themselves. The Church, the local congregation, is ruled by a body of church elders, elected by the communicant church members. This body is called the church council or Kirk Session. It is chaired by the minister. In practice there were many links between the Church and the mission, which was controlled by Europeans. One-third of all the church members in 1925 were teachers employed by the mission. Most elders of the Kirk Session were mission employees. They included: David Kaunda, headmaster, Paul Mushindo, teacher, and the evangelists Jacob Kasomo Nsofu, John Mpuku, Daniel Besa, Barnaba Lunda, Stefano Subailo, and Joseph Pangapanga; the occupations of Stefano Folotia, David Mumba, Yotamu Lulembo, and Abraham Mwanamwenge are unknown.<sup>1</sup> The Kirk Session was handicapped in its efforts to become more independent by not having an African minister to preside over it. The missionary-in-charge was chairman of the session, and 'his word was final.'<sup>2</sup> In 1926 David Kaunda, who had started to preach in Chinsali as early as 1904, was sent to Livingstonia for ministerial training. He was ordained in March 1930, but there was not yet a local congregation that could invite him as its pastor and pay his salary. He then became 'assistant at

<sup>1</sup>. TI Robert Kaunda, Shambalakale, 28-11-1979, and LOA Church Roll. Sam Shimulunda, an evangelist should be included in the list of elders according to his son M. S. Ng'ona (TI Mundu 3-6-1982).

<sup>2</sup>. TI W. Mumba, Chinsali, 23-5-1982.

Lubwa.' Even after his ordination he was given teaching assignments by the mission, because of a shortage of staff. He suddenly died on 1 October 1932. Lubwa had to wait for another thirteen years to have an African minister, Isaac Mfula Mutubila, who became the first member of 'the great Bemba tribe' to be ordained.

Only those were eligible as an elder, who had at least five years of full church membership and who had served for not less than one year as a deacon. There was a term of probation of one year before one could be ordained for life. After disciplining one could be removed as an elder. Efforts were made to have a balanced representation in the church session of the different tribes of the district.<sup>1</sup> The (African) Church was dependent financially on local contributions. This income was in 1928 £ 34, in 1929 £ 20, in 1930 £ 45, and in 1936 £ 37.<sup>2</sup> A considerable part of this income could well have come from the missionaries, who attended the church services and put money into the offertory-bags.

Most of the matters discussed in the Kirk Session had to do with church discipline. The types of offenses on which it frequently took decisions were: polygamy, adultery, fornication, divorce, separation, and 'inheriting' the wife of one's deceased brother (*ukupyana*). Polygynists were only accepted as church members after extra wives were put away and adequate provisions made for them. In cases of adultery and fornication by young persons the parents or guardians were also disciplined. In all these cases the disciplinary action was: immediate removal.<sup>3</sup> All these offenses are offenses against the seventh commandment, and have to do with the control of sexuality. Some even jokingly accused the church council of 'committing adultery by proxy,' by going into the details of these offenses. For many issues the elders went back to the authority of the Old Testament. In this they were following old Scottish traditions.<sup>4</sup> McCracken made a similar observation for the

<sup>1</sup>. LOA File Church Correspondence 5-2-1945.

<sup>2</sup>. UCZ 771 UCCAR-UFCS, Minutes of Lubwa Station staff meetings, 1930-36, 1948-57.

<sup>3</sup>. LOA File: Church Correspondence, Sub Committee of District Council Executive 5-2-1945.

<sup>4</sup>. TI Rev. M. Robertson, Pittenweem, 11-4-1981.

Presbyterian Church of Northern Nyasaland, where the church sessions tended to develop into disciplinary courts.<sup>1</sup> Church suspensions did not have consequences for general workers, but a mission teacher or evangelist would lose his job. After 'removal' because of 'a major offence' one could be restored after repentance and completion of a course of instruction. This encouraged hypocrisy.<sup>2</sup>

Rev. Maxwell Robertson and his wife criticized this stern, disciplinary, Old Testament concept of a Church. They questioned the negative character of the Christian teaching of the missions. The teaching was 'anti-polygamy, anti-beer drinking, and anti-other things' without regard for the brotherhood of man. Instead the mission should link Christianity to African spirituality and make positive use of certain concepts and values of African traditional religion. The Christian doctrine of the communion of saints, for instance, had parallels with the African belief of somebody being always accompanied by a band of spirits, who were interested in his actions and ready to receive him in their midst. Spirit belief and worship could be accommodated within the Christian faith. Christ was then to be preached as 'the Head of our Spirit Village,' and the Church paralleled the village on earth, and in it were no boundaries of race, tribe or family.<sup>3</sup> Christian worship should develop in Africa its own forms. Worship should no longer take place in the village school, but at any place or time one might feel the need.

'At a time when the people go to their gardens let then all meet with their hoes on their shoulders in the middle of the village and ask God to prosper the labour of their hands.' The ideal form of village service would be: 'shortly after sunrise ... the sound of the drum ... an open air church, a fenced-in enclosure in the shade of the trees ... quietness ... respect at the meeting place with God ... a litany of thanksgiving for the sun-light and heat ... for rain, health, recovery from illness etc. ... a hymn of

<sup>1</sup> K. J. McCracken, 1977, *Politics and Christianity*: 250.

<sup>2</sup> TI Rev. M. Robertson, and LOA File Church Correspondence 5-2-1945.

<sup>3</sup> T. Cullen Young had expressed a similar idea in 1930; see his introduction to 'The Religion of My Fathers', written by 'An African' in: *International Review of Missions*, 19, 75 (1930): 362-376.

thanksgiving ... scripture reading ... silent confession ... prayer of dedication. At sunset a further service of prayer in the open air church.' More use should be made of African music.<sup>1</sup>

The working group of the General Missionary Conference of 1935 discussing these ideas made the following recommendations:

(1) missionaries had to study the religious ceremonies and to make use of them, (2) valuable elements of the initiation ceremonies should also be used, (3) hereditary village leaders in traditional religion should be won over for Christ and invited to co-operate in purifying and using African ceremonies, (4) the place of worship in the village should be separated from other uses by analogy with the idea of the sacred grove in African tradition. Finally, (5) the importance of family worship was stressed.<sup>2</sup>

Robertson tried in his preaching to build on what already existed in traditional religion.<sup>3</sup> His orthodoxy was however put in doubt even by some of his fellow missionaries, especially by MacMinn. Robertson avoided conflicts with the mission, by insisting on the relative autonomy of the Lubwa Training School, which had its own budget. At the Lubwa Training School there were daily prayers. On Monday there was a prayer for the work of the school throughout the week. On Tuesday a guided silent intercession prayer for sick students, for relatives who had passed away, for chiefs, headmen etc., but also for instance for the League of Nations after the Italian invasion of Abyssinia. On Wednesday there was a litany of confession with responses. On Thursday a service for youth

<sup>1</sup>. *Report of the Proceedings of the 7th GMC, 1935, Ndola*: 'The Christian Message and Worship with Regard to the Needs, Antecedents and Spiritual Capacity of the Native', paper prepared by 'group at Lubwa' (Rev. Maxwell Robertson, Mrs. Robertson and Paul Sykes).

<sup>2</sup>. *Report of the Proceedings of the 7th GMC, 1935, Ndola*. The missionaries attending the conference were very interested in the ideas expressed by Robertson and he was asked by the Conference to collect information on any experiments that had been tried in 'the relating of Christian practice and worship to the religious background and antecedents of the African.' However in 1939 at the next Conference he had to report that the result of his enquiry had been disappointing, and he had received hardly any reaction from missions.

<sup>3</sup>. Cf. F. Melland and T. Cullen Young, 1937, *African Dilemma*, London: 53: 'the essentials of traditional religion form a fine stock on which to graft our religion.' Also: R. R. Young (1939): 'customs should be respected as Christ came not to destroy, but to fulfill [traditional religion].' 'Old customs should gradually be purified and developed ...' (in R. R. Young, 1939, *Principles and Methods in the Christian School. A Handbook for Teachers in Africa*, London: 91-92 (R. R. Young was normal master, Union College, Bunumbu, Sierra Leone).

took place, whereby the Pathfinders and the Wayfarers paraded in uniform; the Law was recited, the colours brought in during the singing of 'Stand up, stand up for Jesus.' The service closed with the *Bantu National Anthem*<sup>1</sup> and God Save the King. On Friday there was a prayer for the extension of Christ's Kingdom on earth, and for the unity of the Church.<sup>2</sup> For the Pathfinders Robertson organized campfire meetings, scout camps and scout courses, with adapted worship elements. The scout camp was offered as a functional equivalent of the initiation camps. The camp took place at Chipoma Falls, a sacred place in traditional worship. Sex education was provided at the camp. Information given at the camp was to be secret, for Pathfinders only.<sup>3</sup> Paul Sykes, the agricultural instructor of LTS, experimented also with new liturgical forms for his students. Sykes asked for a special blessing ceremony for the new open air carpenter's shop and a special service for the blessing of the first fruits. A procession went down to the maize gardens. No one was allowed to touch his maize before the ceremony had taken place. Each student gathered his first cob and offered it with both hands to God. The maize was given to the Hospital and to poor old women in the village.<sup>4</sup>

While Robertson represented a liberal theology, MacMinn, Brown and the African elders represented a fundamentalist theology. A later missionary, Fergus Macpherson, characterized the latter as 'studio-biblicism,' the doctrine that denies any divine revelation outside the Scriptures.<sup>5</sup> The Presbyterian Christians of Lubwa were new literates who wanted their authority backed by the supreme authority of a Holy Book, containing the revealed Word of God. This rigid attitude is also illustrated by their desire to follow as strictly as possible the Blue Book

<sup>1</sup>. This Bantu National Anthem, as a product of Lovedale, had no doubt been in regular use at Livingstonia since 1897. On the tune of this Bantu National Anthem the national anthems of Zambia, Zimbabwe and the African National Congress of South Africa were made.

<sup>2</sup>. MEF/UMCB File UMCB No. 2 Memorandum on Prayers at LTS, Rev. D. Maxwell Robertson, read at Missionary Conference (no date).

<sup>3</sup>. TI Maxwell Robertson, Pittenweem, 11-4-1981.

<sup>4</sup>. Paul Sykes, Lubwa Training College [sic], to Dr Oldham, 8-12-1935 (SOAS IMC/CBMS Box 1212 File-General Material Correspondence).

<sup>5</sup>. Interview Rev. F. Macpherson, Kilbirnie, 12 and 13-1-1981.

of the Order of Worship of the Church of Scotland. When Maxwell Robertson wanted to introduce the drum in school services, as Donald Fraser had done before in Loudon, the church elders objected, because the drum was not mentioned in the Blue Book of the Order of Worship. The elders also objected to the singing of the Lord's Prayer. They did not want an African, adapted Christianity, but a European or maybe even a *universal* Christianity, which would provide access to European education and to employment, beyond the borders of district and tribe.

The more fundamentalist missionaries had a dichotomous model of conversion. The acceptance of Christianity meant a complete break with one's former paganism. African Christians, however, seemed to have had a pluralistic approach to religion. This cannot be seen from the working of the kirk-session, but in private statements made by Lubwa Christians. The approach was pragmatic: those elements of the new religion that seemed effective and useful were accepted, while many traditional ideas and concepts were also kept. Cultic practices had to go in part underground, as these were strongly opposed by the mission and the kirk-session. The main cultic practice attacked by the mission was that of inheriting or *ukupyana*. This is the marrying of the wife of one's deceased brother. It was condemned because it would lead to polygyny, but also because the mission insisted on a free and deliberate choice in marriage for both partners. If *ukupyana* would involve the having of ritual sexual intercourse with the widow in order 'to pacify the spirit of the deceased person' the offence would be in committing adultery or fornication. Initially the missionaries also opposed the girls' initiation ceremony on reaching puberty, the *ichisungu*, but later they allowed a shortened version of it, which lasted one or two weeks only. Certain 'immoral' dances were also condemned.<sup>1</sup> The social anthropologist Audrey Richards found in 1930-1931 in Chinsali District that traditional magico-religious practices had indeed undergone changes because of mission influence and its rites were less elaborate and took place in

<sup>1</sup>. TI Tomas Sabi, Sabi Village, 20 03 1979. Dances which were forbidden were dances which included women. The *malaila* dance, a war dance with spears and men jumping up and down showing their strength, and the *chilukaluka* dance, the champion dance for young men, were however allowed.

secrecy.<sup>1</sup> But the Church had little impact in such important areas as marriage, polygyny, inheritance (*ukupyana*) and witchcraft.<sup>2</sup>

Conversion could be considered, following Max Warren, either as a 'change of mind' in the form of a specific individual spiritual experience or as a change of allegiance, the acceptance of a new environment of thoughts and life which in the nature of things is much more gradual, and is likely to be far less dramatic.<sup>3</sup> The Robertsons and Sykes probably chose the second model: the gradual influence of the Church in christianizing traditions, customs and beliefs. MacMinn and Brown on the other hand would have stressed the sudden, irreversible 'change of mind' model. At Lubwa Africans generally became Christians in the course of and as a result of their education. Luka Chafilwe affirms that 'people who became Christians were young people who learned about Christianity in schools.'<sup>4</sup> Those who joined the schools of Lubwa almost automatically would join the Church. Till the early 1950s the practice in Lubwa was that all pupils in Standards 2 and 3 were in the two-years' Hearers' Class (*iklasi lya Bakomfwa*). Standards 4 to 6 were in the Catechumen Class. A perfunctory questioning concluded the second course and, for most of the candidates, baptism (unless one had already received the infant baptism, born as a child from Christian parents) and confirmation followed.<sup>5</sup> People may have found it difficult to differentiate between the Church and the school. In the school religious instruction was one of the major subjects. Prayers and worship sessions were an integral part of the timetable. In the Church there were also instruction classes for aspiring hearers, catechumens, and baptized members. Church services usually took place in the school buildings. Often the preacher on Sunday was the same man as the one who was teaching the

<sup>1</sup>. A. I. Richards, 1939 (second ed. 1961), *Land, Labour, Diet*: 351 and 380.

<sup>2</sup>. This statement is still valid as observed by Peter Ng'andu, a student of the United Church of Zambia Theological College, Kitwe, who himself comes from Chinsali District (Peter Ng'andu, 1981, 'The Coming of the Church of Scotland Missionaries and the Impact of Their Work on Traditions and Customs of the Bemba of Chinsali District', Dissertation for the Diploma of Theology of Makerere University, Kampala, UCZ Theological College, Kitwe (unpublished): 23).

<sup>3</sup>. Max Warren, 1967, *Social History and Christian Mission*, London: 164.

<sup>4</sup>. TI Luka Chafilwe, Kalalantekwe, 27-5-1982.

<sup>5</sup>. Fergus Macpherson, in letter to author, 12-1-1991.



other six days of the week in the school. Moreover, education was an effective way of improving one's status, one's job opportunities, and one's income. This would then provide proof of the advantage of joining the Church.

Another possible example of the 'pragmatic' use of mission and Church was when in 1946 Chief Nkula Musungu asked Dr Brown to organize a Christian church service in connection with the burial of his predecessor. A big open air service was held outside the royal hut. The same chief also had a dedication service organized in Lubwa church, when he entered into his chieftainship. At this service he and his people made solemn vows of mutual faithfulness. This chief, the former Chikwanda, although according to Brown 'a baptized Romanist,' made use of the Church to strengthen his authority. The chief was a polygynist.<sup>1</sup>

Presbyterianism, as preached at Lubwa, and in fact presbyterianism in general, has some irreconcilable contradictions in it. Lubwa missionaries, like Dr Brown, tried 'to lead [the] people into a *reasonable* faith, and to trust in a loving Heavenly Father and a life-giving Saviour.'<sup>2</sup> At the same time the teaching of 'simple physiology, hygiene and sanitation' was considered almost an integral part of the total evangelization effort. The Church preached against 'ignorance, and dirt, and disease' and also against 'the devilish influence of agelong superstition, unfounded prejudice and the enmity of the natural heart towards God.'<sup>3</sup> Sinners were told that there was punishment in hell, a place of fire. 'This was feared by the people,' according to church elder Tomas Sabi.<sup>4</sup> The introduction of the concepts of a personalized Devil, eternal damnation and the reality of powers of evil, may in fact have had

<sup>1</sup>. BP James Brown, 1950, 'The Good Fight': 90.

<sup>2</sup>. BP Dr Brown, Circular Letter, 29-1-1934 [my stress]. The point about irreconcilable contradictions in Puritanism is made by Joyce Bednarsky in her analysis of the Salem witch scare of 1690 New England. She finds the witch hunt of Salem associated with anomy, with the losing of purpose of a community. It is also however in a way associated with the contradictions within Puritanism. The witch hunt exposed the existing outdated social system and proved to be a dynamic of social change (Joyce Bednarski, 1968 [1982, third ed.], 'The Salem Witch Scare Viewed Sociologically', in: Max Marwick (ed), *Witchcraft and Sorcery. Selected Readings*, Harmondsworth: 190-200.

<sup>3</sup>. BP Dr. Brown Circular Letter, 25-12-1928.

<sup>4</sup>. TI Tomas Sabi, Sabi Village, 20-3-1979.

the paradoxical effect of strengthening traditional beliefs, namely by rendering new status to the old and feared figure of the wizard or witch, the *muloshi*, who could now be seen as working in alliance with the Devil.<sup>1</sup> This may have increased, rather than decreased, the fear of the people for witchcraft and contributed to the ineffectiveness of the teaching of the mission against the belief in witchcraft. Besides, fundamentalist Presbyterians, favouring the historical-literal method of biblical exegesis, could also quote the Bible for evidence of the reality of witchcraft, e.g. Exodus 22:18 and Galatians 5:20.

There was no explicit action by mission or church beyond the effort to instill a scientific world view and in this way to get rid of 'superstitions' among the pupils taught by Lubwa. For the rest the mission relied on the Government to fight what most missionaries considered superstitions. The Territory had in fact a law against witchcraft since 1904.<sup>2</sup> Moreover the Witchcraft Ordinance prohibited 'the administration to any person of an ordeal or test in the pretence of discovering if the person has committed any crime or is responsible for any calamity.' According to E. Tagart, Acting Secretary of Native Affairs, in a speech to the General Missionary Conference at Kafue in 1924, the High Court had recently ruled that even if a person genuinely believed in the efficacy of witchcraft he would still be punished for practicing it, as these practices were seen and penalized as wrong in themselves. But

<sup>1</sup> F. Carey, 1986, 'Conscientization': 43-5 and 71. Keith Thomas, however, observed that the Bible does not mention the possibility of human beings getting engaged in a pact with the Devil. The fact that the Bible does not mention this was for John Webster and others sceptical writers of the 17th century an argument to reject the idea of witchcraft as devil-worship. This idea was part of the folk mythology of the European Middle Ages (Keith Thomas, 1982, 'The Decline of Witchcraft Prosecutions'. Chapter 18 of his *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, reprinted in: Marwick, Max (ed.), 1982 (second ed.), *Witchcraft and Sorcery*, Harmondsworth: 158. There is evidence that some missionaries interpreted particular practices and beliefs of African traditional religion in this way (e.g. F. Carey, 1986: 74).

<sup>2</sup> North-Western Rhodesia got a Witchcraft Proclamation in 1904 and North-Eastern Rhodesia in 1910 Witchcraft Suppression Regulations. Northern Rhodesia got in 1914 the High Commissioner's Witchcraft Suppression Proclamation, which became in 1924 the Witchcraft Ordinance. The Ordinance does two, quite different, things (1) it outlaws 'witchcraft' and (2) it outlaws 'witchfinding'. It does, however, not recognize that witchcraft can be effective in harming people. Those who were brought to court being accused of witchcraft by the people, were either convicted for duping the people if the defendant admitted guilt or the case was dismissed because the people failed to produce proper proof (e.g. NAZ BS1/147 No. 8 of 1908; BS1/158 vol. 3 of 22-11-1910).

while witchcraft practices were punished as a species of cheat or false pretence, witch-finding accusations and actions were punished more severely, because they might lead to murder.<sup>1</sup> This legislation prohibited chiefs from administering to suspected witches the *muqafi* ordeal, which had been a major source of their authority. Christians were not allowed to take part in witch finding (*ukubuka*) to find out the *real*, supernatural cause of his misfortune, and of disease and death. But anybody who would rise above his fellow people, for instance as a result of mission education or mission employment, would raise the suspicion of having used the evil powers of witchcraft to get his position.<sup>2</sup> Jealousy was often a major reason for levelling accusations of witchcraft. Anybody in a more senior position could become a victim of such accusations or might also fear that his rivals would use witchcraft to undermine his position. Even in circles very close to the Church this happened. A deacon openly accused a fellow Christian of having bewitched him and made him ill, with a view to snatching his job as a foreman.<sup>3</sup> The Chief Elder, Bwali, died after being cursed by people who had told him that 'he would not live to see the rains'. The Presbytery evangelist Daniel Besa, who had the same curse upon him after having interfered in a village beer party, prohibited by the mission, had to be transferred to Mpandala, where MacMinn stayed, out of fear for his security and health.<sup>4</sup>

The *bachapi* (sing. *muchapi*) or witch-hunters tried in their own way to eradicate the problem of witchcraft. In 1933 and 1934 bands of these *bachapi* went around Chinsali and Mpika districts to offer protective medicine against witchcraft and to eradicate the practice itself.<sup>5</sup> *Bachapi* were also reported from the Roman Catholic stations of Kayambi and Chilonga. In Chilonga they were alleged to have said that American Negroes would come to chase the whites from the country. But

<sup>1</sup> E. S. B. Tagart, 1924, 'Native Customary Law in Northern Rhodesia', paper at the GMC, Kafue, 1924, Appendix V of the conference report. *Report of the Proceedings of the GMC*, Lovedale [SOAS IMC/CBMS Box 1211].

<sup>2</sup> Audrey Richards, 1935, 'A Modern Movement of Witchfinders', in; *Africa*: 460.

<sup>3</sup> BP James Brown, 1950, 'The Good Fight': 139.

<sup>4</sup> TI Mrs. Robertson, Pittenweem, 11-4-1981.

<sup>5</sup> Dr Brown called the men *bakachapa* or witch-hunters in his circular letter of 29-1-1934 (BP).

the whites would then on leaving throw poison in the rivers. The *bachapi* sold medicine against this poison. In February 1934 some *bachapi* were imprisoned by the District Commissioner of Mpika, and another one in May of the same year. A *muchapi*, who had come back to Mpika after being chased out by the District Commissioner was sentenced to six months' imprisonment.<sup>1</sup> The apparent success of the *bachapi* provides clear evidence of the persistence of the fear for witchcraft, and the incapacity of mission as well as Government to 'solve' the problem.

The White Fathers had to meet similar problems of conversion and the establishing of a local Church. There were differences in missionary methods and in the approach to Bemba traditional religion. The White Fathers had up to the mid 1930s not seen education as an integral part of evangelization. In the 1930s they became involved in education because of the demand by the people and because of competition with the Protestant missions. The Roman Catholic Church stressed the objective value of the sacraments. Baptism was a *conditio sine qua non* for salvation. In view of the special importance of this sacrament soon every village with some Catholics got its own 'baptizer' for emergency baptisms. The Bangweolo Vicariate (which included then the 'Chinsali Annex' of Malole Mission) had in 1925 as many as 893 official 'Baptizers'.<sup>2</sup> In that year 7,038 persons were baptized in the vicariate, of which 2,985 (42 %) 'in extremis'. Only 1,341 (19 %) were adult baptisms, while the remaining 2,712 (39 %) were infant baptisms. In the same year Lubwa had only forty adult baptisms and 26 infant baptisms (of children younger than sixteen).<sup>3</sup> The White Fathers directed evangelization towards social groups, towards the family, the clan, the tribe as a whole, rather than towards individuals. They had the hope that if they would manage to win over the *beni Ng'andu* chiefs the rest of the tribe would almost automatically follow. Polygyny was, however, a major obstacle for the chiefs to join either Lubwa Church or the Roman

<sup>1</sup>. WFA Chilonga Diary 17-1-1934, 28-2-1934 and 8-5-1934; WFA 21 33 75 Bangweolo Annual Report 1933-34: 13.

<sup>2</sup>. WFA 213 126 Larue, *Rapport sur la Statistique comparée des années 1920 à 1925*, cyclostyle, 17 pp.

<sup>3</sup>. NAM LI 1/9/2.

Catholic Church. The fathers were always prepared to provide the chief with a baptism *in articulo mortis*, if he wanted, just on his death bed. This would guarantee him a place in heaven. The White Fathers had a much more elaborate view on traditional rites and practices, which the Church could allow or not. Theirs was a casuistic approach to the problem of church discipline and christianization of customs. They based themselves on the Codex Juris Canonici and on the Directory of the White Fathers in preparing a long list of practices forbidden in various degrees. This would also help the father when administering the sacrament of penance. Any direct invocation of the spirits was considered a serious offence. This included: the veneration of the spirits (*kupepe mipashi*), the construction of a small shrine for divining (*lufuba kubuka*), the giving of homage to the spirits (*kupale mipashi*), being possessed by the spirits (*kuwilwa*), to thank by clapping and prostrating (the *kutota*) the spirits of the Chiefs (*mfumu shi mipashi*), hunting for identification (*kusowe banda*) and the assistance to the dedication of hunting nets (*kupala masumbu*). Serious offenses were also: the ritual chase, to participate in the offering of meat, which has been prepared for the spirit shrine (*lufuba*) and eaten at that place. The drinking of beer to honour the dead (*bwalwa bwa lupupo*) was serious as such, but not beer drinking in itself. To make fire for the child (*kuteka kalonga, kutaba, mulilo wa mwana*), to tie small beads around the waist (*kufwale mpimpi*) were considered to be only 'vain observations.' But when the spirits were invoked then these would become 'grave sins.' Traditional medicine was allowed, with the exception of blessed or dedicated medicine (*muti wapalwa*), which was considered 'serious.' There was a continuous campaign against the practice of the widening of the female parts (*kukusha mubili*) which was considered immoral.<sup>1</sup> The chief reason for exclusion from the catechumenate with the Roman Catholics as with Lubwa was offenses against the seventh

<sup>1</sup>. WFA 03.0 Statuts du Vic. Apost. du Bangweolo, between 1937 and 1949, also: WFA 052.1 Statuten des Lwanguwa, 7-9-1936, which is however much less detailed. Hinfelaar, stresses the importance of the custom of *kukusha mubili* being 'part of the dignity of the Home Shrine.' This particular custom remained till 1964 on the confessional list of mortal sins, when it was quietly removed after pressure from women organisations (Hugo Hinfelaar, 1989, 'Religious Change': 191, 206 notes 45-48).

commandment, especially polygyny. When committing this offence 'the person concerned declares himself that he does not want the baptism anymore.'<sup>1</sup> Christian marriage and family was for the White Fathers 'the solid foundation of the Church.'<sup>2</sup> As with the Presbyterians of Lubwa there were graded admissions to church membership. The Catechumens were divided into three groups differentiated from each other by a particular token. There were those who would wear a medal (*bansalamu*), those who would wear a crucifix (*bamisalaba*), and the 'chosen ones' (*basalwa*). Each *nsalamu* had to know the *Katekismu munono*, each *misalaba* had to know the first lesson of the great catechism before he could move to the final category.<sup>3</sup> From 1928 onwards literacy was a precondition for admission to baptism, to *basalwa* and to *bamisalaba*, at least for the younger generation.<sup>4</sup>

## 7. Conclusion

The period under review saw an enormous expansion of Lubwa Mission. By the end of the period the mission was at its height *qua* influence with some 13 % of the population of the district within its fold. Lubwa made in our period efforts to use education as lever for rural development. Agricultural and practical subjects were an integral part of the curriculum. It does not seem to have been successful here, at least in the short run. Lubwa made an impact in the district by providing local employment. The relatively low rate of labour migration may be a result of this. The expansion of the mission in the area of education and health was stimulated by the rivalry with the White Fathers, who established themselves in the district close to Lubwa in 1934. The rivalry took initially place in the area of education and both missions tried to extend their influence by establishing schools in villages which had not yet one. An educational 'non-aggression pact' between the two rival missions had

<sup>1</sup>. WFA 052.1: 21.

<sup>2</sup>. WFA 052.1: 16 E. Matrimony.

<sup>3</sup>. WFA 03.0 *Statutes pour les travaux apostoliques au vicariat du Bangweolo* AMDG Chilubula, *Fêtes du Pâques*, 1922.

<sup>4</sup>. WFA 214 117 van Sambeek, Chilubula to Confrères, 22-1-1930, quoting the *règles du Synode*, 1928.

the effect of secularizing education. At least pupils, or rather their parents or guardians, were given an option of education without Christian worship and without religious education. The rivalry led to misunderstandings and the emergence of very negative pictures of Roman Catholics by Protestants and *vice versa*, more based on rumour than on fact. This led to rifts between families and within families. The Bemba village is basically a kinship unit organized on a matrilineal system, and forming the basic group of this.<sup>1</sup> Many villages would now have a Protestant school and a Roman Catholic 'prayer house,' which led to a break in the basic unity of the village. Some of the conflict between Roman Catholics and Protestants may have had a deeper base, and the Roman Catholic-Protestant struggle may have strengthened existing rifts. There was for instance the rift between the 'real' Bemba, the *Ababemba nkonko*, who had come with Chitimukulu and his band, and the inhabitants they found there, the *Bachinga*, and also the rift between the *beni Ng'andu*, the ruling clan, and the commoners. The Roman Catholics relied more on the 'real Bemba', the *Bemba nkonko*, on the *beni Ng'andu*, on the elite. The fathers brought with them a number of good Roman Catholic families from Malole, who settled around Ilondola. Lubwa attracted more the commoners. These took on baptism, in contrast with the Roman Catholic Christians, their clan names as their surnames. This could be interpreted as the search for an identity from the period before the arrival of the *beni Ng'andu* rulers. The difference between the Bemba east of the Chambeshi and west of it was given now also denominational emphasis.<sup>2</sup>

The White Fathers stressed in their evangelization policy more the extended family, the clan and the tribe, while the Presbyterian

<sup>1</sup>. Audrey Richards, 1932, 'Anthropological Problems in North-Eastern Rhodesia', in: *Africa*, 5, 2: 126.

<sup>2</sup>. The conflict in the last decade of the 19th century between Chikwanda II, the later Nkula, who got the support of Makumba, and Mwamba, who had the support of Bishop Dupont might have been an example of a conflict based on this rift in precolonial Bemba society (A. D. Roberts, 1973, *A History of the Bemba*: 222, 260, 279 and 286). See also Roberts, 1973: 322, about dynastic rivalry between the chieftainships on opposite sides of the Chambeshi. Could this basic conflict explain why Nkula Musunga choose to have a church service for his accession to the throne in Lubwa Church and not in Ilondola Church?

mission stressed individual achievement in church and in secular life. Lubwa had two streams in mission theology. Maxwell Robertson advocated a liberal, ecumenical approach, while MacMinn and Dr Brown represented a fundamentalist approach. Maxwell Robertson went very far in experimenting with liturgical and theological adaptations of the christian message. He was opposed by the church elders, who followed in the more fundamentalist theology of MacMinn and Brown. Maxwell Robertson managed, however, to have a good number of his ideas on liturgical innovation and on the use of traditional religious concepts introduced in his Lubwa Training School and the Pathfinder movement, founded by him. This had a lasting influence on the graduates of the school. Neither Lubwa missionaries nor the White Fathers were very successful in eliminating traditional beliefs. Both offered a stern and disciplinary type of religion.

Neither mission was successful in eliminating fear for witchcraft or was actively engaged with this problem. Lubwa relied on the teaching of a scientific world view to fight what was considered a superstition. The fathers could use the sacrament of penance to correct and discipline their Christians in this regard. The observation of Audrey Richards for 1930-31 may have been true also for the end of our period: the European influence on the villages was a function of their distance to European centres. For the majority of villages there were no deep alterations in their beliefs and habits of thought.<sup>1</sup> It was a small elite of teachers, evangelists and catechists, often underpaid and close to the mission, that tried to implement the Gospel in their daily lives and in the community of which they were part.

<sup>1</sup>. Audrey Richards, 1932, 'Anthropological Problems': 125.



## CHAPTER THREE

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# EVANGELISTS, VETERANS AND 'ANGRY YOUNG MEN'

1939-1953

## 1. Introduction

From May to October 1938 there was an Empire Exhibition in Glasgow. The Church of Scotland was present and 'rejoiced that it was enabled to show to the world that the prosperity of the Empire ought not to be material only but spiritual as well.'<sup>1</sup> The beginning of the Second World War, within a year, on 3 September 1939 meant the beginning of a new era for the British Empire, but also for the missions working in it. The annual report of the Foreign Mission Committee of 1939 spoke of 'an atmosphere of uneasiness and bewilderment' in Africa and India. In some areas there was 'unrest and disturbances ...'<sup>2</sup> The Church of Scotland now began to disassociate itself from the colonial venture presumably on the basis of the reports it received from its missionaries about the general mood of the population in the colonies. Six years later it advocated a mission policy *independent* from British colonialism. In 1946 the Foreign Mission Committee warned the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in quite strong terms: 'If we have been building on the prestige of the white race, on the association of missionary work with the colonising and civilising activities of the West, on the successes of the nineteenth century or the expectation of saving our reputation in the twentieth, we may be back again in an era of isolationism, with a cooling of enthusiasm and diminishing influence.'<sup>3</sup>

## 2. Recruitment for War

Over a year after the official beginning of the war in Europe recruiting began in Northern Province. At the District Commissioners Conference (DCC) of Northern Province in November 1940 it was announced that in 1940 1,350 recruits were needed from the Territory: 100 for the depot, 200 for the Second Battalion, 350 for the Third Battalion and 700 for the Fourth. The quota for Northern Province was set at 450 to 600 at least, which amounts to 33-44 % of all recruits from the Territory. The District Commissioners had the task of bringing in all able bodied men to the

<sup>1</sup>. *Report to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, FMC, 1939: 323, 325.*

<sup>2</sup>. *Report to the General Assembly for 1939, FMC, May 1940: 420.*

<sup>3</sup>. *Report to the General Assembly for 1946 FMC: 355.*

boma for contact with the recruiting officers, Capt. Watmore and Capt. Boyd-Wilson.<sup>1</sup> In 1943 Eastern Province supplied forty recruits per week. From Northern Province, which then included present-day Luapula Province, twenty men were accepted for service each week. The minimum number of recruits aimed at was 22 per week. Chinsali District was required to produce three recruits per week.<sup>2</sup> Dr Brown, who himself had served as a Captain in the Royal Army Medical Corps on the battlefields of Flanders and Italy in the First World War, claimed that 'perhaps no other district in the whole of Africa [!] sends a larger proportion of baptized Christians to the army than does this Lubwa District.'<sup>3</sup> In 1940, according to Dr Brown, 68 % of the recruits medically examined by him at Lubwa Hospital belonged to Lubwa Church.<sup>4</sup> In 1942 he made the observation that of the 137 recruits 106 (or 77 %) had a connection with Lubwa Church as hearers, catechumens or full members, while only 23 (17 %) were Roman-Catholic.<sup>5</sup> In 1943 as indicated above Chinsali District was expected to produce a similar figure of 150 recruits. It is difficult to give estimates of the total number of recruits coming from Chinsali District as recruitment is likely to have varied from year to year. It seems however possible that young men with a connection with Lubwa Mission were overrepresented among the recruits from Chinsali. In 1942 Lubwa had an estimated membership of about 3,000. Of these between one third and a quarter (750 to 1,000) were males older than sixteen years. Recruiting then took a heavy toll among this particular group.<sup>6</sup> There could well be a further reason why young men from Lubwa may have been overrepresented among the

<sup>1</sup>. NAZ SEC 2/181 DCC District Commissioners Conference Northern Province 20 to 23-11-1940, with the Secretary for Native Affairs (SNA), the two recruiting officers and the DCs of Northern Province.

<sup>2</sup>. NAZ SEC 2/181 DCC Northern Province 2 to 27-2-1943 with Controller of African Recruitment Lt. Col. A. Stephenson, CMG, CBE, DSO, MC present.

<sup>3</sup>. BP James Brown, 1950, 'The Good Fight': 152.

<sup>4</sup>. BP James Brown, 1950: 134.

<sup>5</sup>. UCZ 893 Annual Report Lubwa Mission, 1942 and James Brown, 1950: 134. Dr Brown does not mention the number of men who were declared medically unfit for military service.

<sup>6</sup>. There was a rumour at that time that boys gathered in the Free Church schools, supposedly to learn the three Rs, were being shanghaied into the military instead (Karen Fields, 1985, *Revival and Rebellion in Colonial Central Africa*, Princeton: 239 for Central Province). The rumour was attributed to Watchtower adherents.

recruits from Chinsali District.

The White Fathers included 'enemy aliens,' and this provoked government harrassment, which may have reduced their eagerness to assist with government efforts to recruit askaris for the army. Luangwa Vicariate had a considerable number of German missionaries because between the wars, in a time of rising German nationalism, there had been a plan to establish Luangwa as a 'German Mission' to facilitate German identification with the mission work of the White Fathers (cf. p. 75 above). Two days after the British declaration of war on Germany the DC of Isoka, John Moffat, came to Mulilansolo Mission, then still part of Isoka District, and asked the German missionaries to sign a declaration and to hand in hunting rifles and ammunition.<sup>1</sup> In May 1940 when the 'Blitzkrieg' on the Western front in Europe broke out the German White Fathers were forbidden to leave the mission area without permission from the DC.<sup>2</sup> Bangweolo and Luangwa exchanged missionaries; Fr. Kohle and Fr. Hoch left for Bangweolo because of the war.<sup>3</sup> In November 1940 some of these restrictions were lifted and the missionaries were allowed to carry out their educational duties provided they operated off the main roads.<sup>4</sup> But in August 1941 the DC asked for the immediate replacement of the entire personnel of Katibunga Mission by 'men of allied or neutral nationality.'<sup>5</sup>

Lubwa Mission certainly gave every support to the recruiting officers. Recruits from Lubwa were offered special incentives. Recruiting took place in the school grounds. According to Robert Makasa, who was seventeen years old when the war broke out and a second year student of Lubwa Training School, older students were promised St. 6 certificates without having to sit for the examinations. Jobs were also promised after the war; civilians would then have to vacate their jobs if these were

<sup>1</sup>. WFA Mulilansolo Diary: 48, 5-9-1939. A few months later the rifle was given back. o. c.: 51. Mulilansolo was transferred from Isoka District to Chinsali District on 1 January 1940.

<sup>2</sup>. WFA Mulilansolo Diary: 64.

<sup>3</sup>. Idem: 63.

<sup>4</sup>. NAZ SEC 2/181 DCC Northern Province, 20 to 23-11-1940.

<sup>5</sup>. NAZ SEC 2/181 DCC Northern Province, 26 to 30-8-1941.

needed for war veterans.<sup>1</sup> During the war askaris received pay which they could send to the family back home. Robert Pambwe of Nkula's village served in both the First and the Second World War. He had the rank of Sergeant, receiving £ 2-4-0 per month. After demobilization he received 250 shillings (£ 12-10-0), a six months' salary.<sup>2</sup> This was a considerable sum at that time. It was the annual income of a Lubwa evangelist. More askaris may have managed to save some money, but government and mission gave little help to readjust them to civilian life after the war. According to Robert Pambwe, people who returned after the war did not settle down well again in their villages. Some suffered from mental disturbances.<sup>3</sup> Another veteran, Gipson Mumba of Mpyana Bwalya, was dissatisfied after the war because 'European ex-soldiers were assisted, but not the Africans.'<sup>4</sup>

Already in 1943 the District Commissioners Conference of Northern Province discussed post-war plans for demobilized askaris. The askaris themselves wanted a plot of land with a brick house according to the DCs. It was decided then to give holdings only in grouped areas near bomas and towns. The DCs were of the opinion that the demand for farms was given by the wish to escape from tribal control.<sup>5</sup> The 1946 District Commissioners' Conference discussed a proposal to engage ex-askaris in the Public Works Department and to increase temporarily the number of district messengers. Agricultural courses were also proposed.<sup>6</sup> However, at least in Chinsali District nothing was realised of these proposals. In 1947 the Government made £ 75,000 available in recognition of the services of the African population during the war. This comes at about £ 5 per askari, which can not be considered overgenerous, especially considering the high expectations raised at the time of recruitment. It was suggested to purchase tools and implements as a gift to Africans about to start their own farm or to build a memorial

<sup>1</sup>. Kapasa Makasa, 1981, *March to Political Freedom*, Nairobi: 8

<sup>2</sup>. In the interview Robert Pambwe gives the amount of '200 pounds 50 shilling.' This is clearly an exaggeration. 250 Shilling seems more realistic.

<sup>3</sup>. TI Robert Pambwe, 2-6-1982.

<sup>4</sup>. TI Gipson Mumba, 8-6-1982.

<sup>5</sup>. NAZ SEC 2/181 DCC Northern Province, 1943.

<sup>6</sup>. NAZ SEC2/181 DCCs Northern Province, 1946.

extension to Munali Secondary School to provide additional places for children of ex-askaris.<sup>1</sup> The Christian Council of Northern Rhodesia echoed some of the resentment of the veterans. In June 1945 it asked the Government for a speedy publication of government plans for demobilization. It urged the Government to make 'After Care' funds available for African as well as for European ex-servicemen.<sup>2</sup> The raw deal obtained by African ex-servicemen was a major theme when Kenneth Kaunda and others mobilized Chinsali District against Federation and 'partnership.' According to Kenneth Kaunda this was 'his most popular story.'<sup>3</sup>

The effects of the war on Lubwa Mission were in the first place the loss of men. This led to staffing problems for the mission and the schools. That was also the reason why in 1943 the Mission called back Kenneth Kaunda from Munali Training Centre in Lusaka where he had been sent in August 1941, although he had not yet completed his education there.<sup>4</sup> Robert Kaunda, his elder brother, also returned to Lubwa during the war from the Copperbelt where he had been teaching. He, however, joined the armed forces. Missionaries could no longer take home leave in Scotland, but had to go instead to South Africa. The costs of passages and freight increased and also the cost of living for the mission and for its workers.<sup>5</sup>

### 3. Education

The war witnessed a radical change in the educational strategy of Lubwa Mission. In the period between the wars, the Livingstonia missions had an educational policy aimed at mass education, preparing for a life in the rural areas with a stress on practical skills, especially in agriculture. However by the early 1940s few Lubwa trained Africans had begun a career in farming in Chinsali District and very few of these could be

<sup>1</sup>. NAZ SEC 2/181 DCC Northern Province, 23 to 28-5-1947.

<sup>2</sup>. LOA File: Church Correspondence Christian Council of Northern Rhodesia 25-28 06 1945.

<sup>3</sup>. Fergus Macpherson, 1974, *Kenneth Kaunda*: 95.

<sup>4</sup>. Macpherson, 1974: 63.

<sup>5</sup>. NAS Report FMC for 1939, May 1940: 419-426.

considered successful commercial farmers or entrepreneurs. Education at Lubwa was not as effective as it could have been because of the enormous wastage. The vast majority of pupils never reached a level where they could benefit from their education and retain the skills learnt. Many did not reach the St. 2 level which is considered the minimum needed to maintain literacy. In 1942 Dr Brown would still formulate Lubwa's educational policy as follows: ... 'that every child in this district in however remote a village, should have an opportunity to get his or her feet on the bottom rung at least of the Education ladder and that every person young or old, should be able to hear God's message.'<sup>1</sup> By the following year the Mission Council of Livingstonia<sup>2</sup> had decided to concentrate its effort in education. The former stress on mass-education had led to 'too many schools, with poor buildings, meagre equipment, and ill educated and untrained teachers,' resulting in 'a great spread of low grade work; superficial literacy, at the price of excessive wastage and retardation, and a large percentage of examination failure.' It was felt that what was needed now was: 'real effective education of leaders'. The motto of the new policy was: '*reculer pour mieux sauter*.' Promising pupils would go to station schools under the direct supervision of Europeans from St. 2 upwards. A secondary school had to begin at Livingstonia, at Khondowe, as soon as possible with St. 7. Normal training (i. e. primary teacher training) would concentrate on professional subjects and would not provide preliminary academic subjects.<sup>3</sup> As shown above (p. 83) Maxwell Robertson had already moved ahead of this decision by initiating a shortlived experiment with secondary education, from September 1938 till 1940. It was connected to Lubwa Training School and was made available for a handful of St. 6 diplomates who were considered too young for teacher training.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>. UCZ 893 Annual Report Lubwa 1942, 8-10-1943.

<sup>2</sup>. The Mission Council consisted of all the Livingstonia missionaries in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. It met annually.

<sup>3</sup>. NAM LI 1/3/20 Livingstonia Mission Educational Policy, 1943; see also: K. J. McCracken, 1977, *Politics*: 241.

<sup>4</sup>. NAM LI 1/3/20 November 1939. See also Trevor Coombe, 1968, The Origins of Secondary Education in Zambia, Part III: Anatomy of a Decision, 1937-9, in: *African Social Research*, 5: 384-5.

A consequence of the new policy was that more European staff would be needed as Africans did not as yet have the qualifications to teach at these advanced levels. A further consequence was that the costs per pupil would rise considerably in view of the much higher salary costs of the European staff. Implementation of the new strategy was delayed because of the uncertain financial situation of the mission. The policy also implied that the link of education with evangelization was now completely severed. In 1950 the Foreign Mission Council of the Church of Scotland reiterated the importance of secondary education and teacher training as compared to primary education.<sup>1</sup> By then also the financial situation of the Foreign Mission Committee had improved and larger grants in aid could be secured from the Northern Rhodesia Government (see p. 129).

The White Fathers did not follow the Church of Scotland in its policy to reduce its commitment to primary education. They remained attached to the policy of the 1930s: the provision of primary education made the Roman Catholic Church popular with the people, who wanted education for their children; it helped to establish a Roman Catholic presence in a village, while it also helped to give children the basics of the Roman Catholic faith and prepare them for baptism and church membership. Pius XI was quoted to support this position: 'do you want to establish the Church (in Africa) ... first build schools, after that churches!..<sup>2</sup> Chinsali District continued to be well served with schools because of the continued competition between Lubwa and the Roman Catholic missions. By 1940 Lubwa had to compete with three Roman Catholic missions in the district: Ilondola, Mulanga and Mulilansolo, and one, Katibunga, just across the border with Mpika District. These all gave a high priority to education. Lwangwa Vicariate had four Roman Catholic Lower Middle Schools. Each mission station had one or more Elementary Schools and a boarding school for girls. Ilondola received in

<sup>1</sup>. *Report to the General Assembly, FMC, 1951*: 407

<sup>2</sup>. WFA Mulilansolo Diary, 23-9-1950. This is off course what Mgr. Hinsley, the Apostolic Delegate, was telling the Roman Catholic missions in Africa already in 1929-30: 'Neglect your churches in order to perfect your schools.'



1946 permission to start an Upper Middle School there.<sup>1</sup> In 1947 this school presented about thirty pupils for the St. 6 examination.<sup>2</sup> In 1949 Mulilansolo presented 27 pupils for the St. 4 examination of which 22 passed.<sup>3</sup> In 1950 Lwangwa Vicariate had 36 government aided schools and 38 unaided schools. The unaided schools were costly but were considered 'useful for occupation of a country.'<sup>4</sup> In 1948 Chinsali District had eighty schools on the Register. Over 80 % of the children in the district received sub-standard and lower standard education (Sub-A to St. 2). There were eight boarding schools, four run by Lubwa, three by the White Fathers, and Timba School at Shiwa Ng'andu which was run by the Government. Two of these were Upper Middle Schools - one run by Lubwa and one by the White Fathers. Native Authorities had employed school attendance officers.<sup>5</sup>

The Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland had in 1943 expressed fears that Government, in the wake of a more vigorous development policy in the colonies, would take education out of the hands of the mission. This was considered 'disastrous for the development of African communities and the extension of the Church.'<sup>6</sup> In the period under review Government made more money available for aided schools, but was also increasingly willing to take over the educational responsibilities completely from the missions. The General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia (GMC) encouraged a greater involvement of the Government in education, provided that certain key positions would remain for the missions. The General Missionary Conference (GMC) was a major and effective channel through which Protestant missionary societies expressed their demands regarding education to the Government.<sup>7</sup> The GMC nominated members of the

<sup>1</sup>. *Rapports Annuels*, 1945-6: 188.

<sup>2</sup>. WFA 521 155 Rapport Annuel, Vicariat de Lwangwa 1945-1946.

<sup>3</sup>. WFA Mullansolo Diary, 6-5-1949.

<sup>4</sup>. WFA 521 158 Rapport Annuel Vicariat de Lwangwa, 1949-1950.

<sup>5</sup>. RHL Annual Report Chinsali, 1948, Roy Stokes, DC.

<sup>6</sup>. *Report to the General Assembly, FMC*, 1943: 271-272.

<sup>7</sup>. Lubwa Mission was well represented at the General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia. Rev. D. Maxwell Robertson was Vice-President from 1935-1939. Dr Brown was member of the Executive Committee of the Christian Council, the successor of the GMC in 1945 and he also formed with Dr Monica Fisher the Medical Standing

Standing Committee of the African Education Board. The Director of African Education attended the committee meetings which discussed education during the Conference. In 1946 the Standing Committee of the African Education Board proposed that mission societies were to retain at least some form of control of primary education by the right to appoint mission education secretaries. The Committee also proposed the establishment of two mission secondary schools to be funded by the Government. These proposals were accepted and became part of the Ten-Year Development Plan (1947-1956).<sup>1</sup>

After the war Government encouraged a greater responsibility on the part of the Native Authority for education. Senior Chief Nkula however did not feel at any time the need to open a Native Authority School at his capital, as he could have done according to the African Education Ordinance, No. 12 of 1939.<sup>2</sup> One could see this as a success for the intertribal education provided by Lubwa, as advocated by Maxwell Robertson.

Table VII and VIII show that during the period under review, the competition between Lubwa and Ilondola in education continued. It made Chinsali District one of the best served districts in the Territory *qua* education in the period 1939-1953. Until 1950 the Church of Scotland in Northern Rhodesia expanded its educational system. Lubwa Mission managed from 1950 to turn its unaided schools (including the subgrade schools, providing Substandard A and Substandard B education), into aided schools, and did away with the Subgrade schools. In 1950 all small village schools which were not supported by the Government were handed over to Government.<sup>3</sup> This shift in emphasis is shown even more clearly in Table VIII. The White Fathers on the other hand increased the enrollment in their unaided schools with 23 % in the

Committee (*Report of the Proceedings of the 8th Conference and Report of the Proceedings of the 9th GMC*, IMC/CBMS Box 1211). From 1939 onwards the Roman Catholic Church did no longer take part in the GMC.

<sup>1</sup>. *Ten-Year Development Plan*, as approved by the Legislative Council on 11-2-1947 (1947-1956), Lusaka, 1947: 21.

<sup>2</sup>. Chitimukulu had established the Kanyanta Memorial School in his capital, immediately when the opportunity arose in 1939 (P. D. Snelson, 1974: 204).

<sup>3</sup>. LOA Ichinga Kirk Session, Lubwa Station Committee, July 1950.

same period. They also increased their share in education.

TABLE VII: LUBWA MISSION: EDUCATION, 1949-54<sup>1</sup>

a. UNAIDED SCHOOLS (incl. aided 'village subgrade')					
	schools	pupils			teachers
		male	female	total	
1949	34	1,682	1,064	2,746	11
1950	39	1,939	1,352	3,290	112
1951	9	225	143	308	9
1952	4	-	-	"	
1953	?	-	-	"	
1954	24	1,896	1,137	3,033	106

b. AIDED PRIMARY SCHOOLS (excl. 'village subgrade' and unaided schools)"					
	schools	pupils			teachers
		male	female	total	
1949	4	261	15	276	8
1950	5	341	86	379	13
1951	27	1,809	1,003	2,812	100
1952	29	2,382	1,456	3,838	113
1953	25	2,211	1,205	3,192	108
1954	6	674	327	1,001	?

c. LUBWA TRAINING SCHOOL					
		pupils			teachers
		male	female	total	
1949				36	
1950		97	8	105	6
1951	1			50	
1952		30	21	51	3
1953		17	18	35	3
1954		school closed			

<sup>1</sup> NAZ HM 28 UN 9/2 Church of Scotland Statistical Returns.

" The 1952-3 figures for the aided schools includes those of the unaided primary schools.

" The figures for teachers for 1952-3 includes 'helpers'.

TABLE VIII: EDUCATION: CHURCH OF SCOTLAND [NORTHERN RHODESIA] - WHITE FATHERS (LWANGWA VICARIATE), 1946-1952<sup>1</sup>

	aided schools					unaided schools	
	pupils					pupils	
	N	male	female	total	%	N	
1935 CS	39	2,258	830	3,088	14		
1946 CS	91	8,016	3,056	11,072	10	144	3,301
WF	30	1,855	472	2,327	2	44	961
1947 CS	101	8,869	2,115	12,084	11	67	2,656
WF	28	1,646	516	2,162	2	48	1,470
1948 CS	108	8,725	3,264	11,989	11	16	696
WF	31	2,047	777	2,824	3	-	-
1949 CS	117	8,596	3,549	12,145	10	14	831
WF	32	2,074	859	2,933	3	36	1,274
1950 CS	108	7,585	3,309	10,894	9	24	1,363
WF	37	2,488	1,198	3,686	3	34	1,317
1951 CS	118	8,409	3,360	11,769	9	18	865
WF	34	2,221	1,044	3,265	3	30	1,083
1952 CS	108	8,451	3,220	11,671	9	4	155
WF	33	2,396	1,066	3,462	3	28	1,185

<sup>1</sup> ARNE, 1946-52; for 1935: P. D. Snelson, 1974: 294.

The new educational policy of Lubwa was implemented by young missionaries who came to Lubwa at the beginning of our period. At the beginning of 1939 George Cato went to Lubwa to take over from Maxwell Robertson as Principal of Lubwa Training School. Cato was born in South Africa, but brought up and educated in Scotland. He was an ordained minister with a degree in divinity, but also one in physics.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He joined the Physics Department of the University of Natal, Durban and retired from there in 1974 (George C. Cato, Hillcrest, in letter to author, 8-12-1981).

John Nelson also came in 1939 shortly before the war broke out. He came to teach at the Lubwa Training School, but took over from Dr Brown as Manager of Lubwa district schools in June 1942, and Manager of Schools in 1943.<sup>1</sup> In 1947 George Cato left and Nelson became Principal of the LTS. He had a science degree, while his wife Elizabeth had an MA in English.<sup>2</sup> These were not narrow theologians, but people with a broader interest, who continued to build on the work of Maxwell Robertson.

In the early 1950s Lubwa made special efforts to train women as teachers. This would provide a stimulus for girls to continue their education since it held out prospects for a career. In 1950 Lubwa had 142 girls in St. 2, and in 1951 197; 30 girls were in the Upper School. In 1952 the first batch of girl students, who had domestic science subjects in their curriculum, left school. All of them got appointments as teachers.<sup>3</sup> The number of female-trained teachers rose from eight to twenty in six years between 1949 and 1954. The number and percentage of untrained female teachers on the other hand remained unchanged in the same period (37 %) (Table IX).<sup>4</sup> Lubwa complained that early marriages made the school lose its most promising students.<sup>5</sup>

The lion's share of salaries in educational and women's work at Lubwa was provided by the Government. In 1951 only 3 % of the salary costs in these areas did not come from the Government. The Church of Scotland because of its relatively advanced educational system was the first to benefit from the willingness of the Government to increase its expenditure on education. European salaries were a large part of the

<sup>1</sup>. In 1942 the Director of African Education had reappointed Dr Brown as Manager of Schools. However, reflections had been cast on his suitability for the work in view of his conflicts with the White Fathers' missions (NAM LI 1/3/20 Livingstonia Mission Council, Min. 8 [June 1942]).

<sup>2</sup>. Mrs. E. Nelson, Worcester, in letter to author, 10-8-1987. In 1954 both joined Munali Secondary School, John to teach Science, and Elizabeth English and Religious Knowledge. John became then Principal of Chizongwe Secondary School in Eastern Province. After Independence John joined David Kaunda College and Elizabeth the Department of Communication of the Evelyn Hone College in Lusaka. John and Elizabeth Nelson left Zambia in 1973.

<sup>3</sup>. NAZ UN 8/2 Station Reports 1950-1961: Lubwa Training School and District Women's Work for 1951.

<sup>4</sup>. NAZ HM 28 UN 8/2 Lubwa Education.

<sup>5</sup>. NAZ HM 28 UN 8/2 Lubwa Training School and District Women's Work for 1951.

salary grants. Government grants were determined by an 'education measure.' Missions would earn double points for training girls. Pupils in higher standards would also earn more points for the mission.<sup>1</sup>

A disproportionate share of the total costs for education at Lubwa went to the prestigious Lubwa Training School. In fact 175 times as much was spent per pupil at the LTS on salary costs as at the Lubwa and district schools. This is further evidence for Lubwa's policy to train an elite, or to provide for a few the best education it could make available. The amount contributed by the Church of Scotland was relatively small. In 1939, 1942 and 1943

TABLE IX: LUBWA MISSION: FEMALE TEACHERS, 1949-54<sup>1</sup>

		teachers			
		all	female teachers		
schools			%	trained	
1949	A	111	41	37	8
	B	8	0	0	0
1950	A	112	42	38	8
	B	19	1	5	0
1951	A	9	0	0	0
	B	100	27	27	3
1952	A				
	B	116	31	27	14
1953	A				
	B	111	32	29	12
1954	A	106	34	32	20
	B	22	1	5	1

<sup>1</sup>) the 1952 figure of 31 includes 16 'helpers'.

A = village/subgrade schools

B = primary schools (incl. Lubwa Training School)

respectively £ 454, £ 400 and £ 450 were budgetted for Lubwa Mission, and £ 240, £ 240 and £ 290 for Lubwa Training School. In these years the Women's Foreign Mission Committee budgetted £ 40 on Lubwa Mission, and in 1942 and 1943 £ 40 on Lubwa Training School.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>. In 1944 the education measure was as follows: Sub-Standard A: ½; B: 1; St.1 and 2 male: 2, female: 3; St. 3 and 4 male: 5, female 10; St. 5 and 6 male: 10, female: 15. (ARNE, 1944: 3).

<sup>2</sup>. NAM LI 1/3/20 Livingstonia Mission Council, 282/22 Budget for 1939 (July 1938), Budget for 1942 (July 1941), and Budget for 1943 (June 1942).

TABLE X: SALARY GRANTS FOR EDUCATION FOR LUBWA MISSION, 1950-1<sup>1</sup>

<b>1950</b>	£
salaries Lubwa Training School	1,023
salaries Lubwa and district schools	608
European salary grant	350
Total (£)	1,981
<b>1951</b>	£
government assisted salaries	964
unassisted salaries	75
Lubwa District Education and Women's Work:	
government assisted salaries	4,486
unassisted salaries	88
European salary grant	300
Total (£)	5,913

TABLE XI: GRANTS IN AID FOR EDUCATION (£), 1946-52; CHURCH OF SCOTLAND/WHITE FATHERS<sup>1</sup>

	Church of Scotland	White Fathers	Total grants Territory	% CS	% WF
1946	9,774	2,342	117,219	8.3	2.0
1947	11,907	3,270	137,777	8.6	2.4
1948	16,039	3,894	193,817	8.2	2.0
1949	22,338	6,882	265,366	8.4	2.7
1950	20,029		254,624	7.9	
1951	22,349				
1952	27,480	13,040	340,217	8.1	3.8

<sup>1</sup> ARNE, 1946-52.

Church of Scotland (Livingstonia Mission) and its four mission stations in Northern Rhodesia in Chinsali, Isoka, Serenje and Lundazi districts.

White Fathers' Mission in Lwangwa Vicariate in Chinsali, Isoka, Serenje, Mbala, and Mpika districts.

One can see in the 1940s a change in the educational policy of Lubwa Mission. There was an effort to give priority to quality as against quantity in education. This aimed at the creation of an elite, which could play a leading role in the Church, but also in secular society. This went parallel with a policy of devolution, the handing over from the early 1950s of responsibilities in mission and Church to Africans. The process of integrating mission and Church was then also initiated. Gradually the Church of Scotland began to develop the idea of withdrawing almost completely from education, an area where it had played for the past five decades a leading role in the district and in the Territory. This was logical if one wanted an Africanisation of the Church as the African Church for the time being could not think of raising the funds needed to provide education on the scale the mission had done up to then and to provide the highly qualified management needed for its involvement in education. This also meant a 'narrower' view on mission. Mission work now for the first time in the almost one century old history of Livingstonia began to mean mainly direct evangelization and no longer 'the whole gospel for the whole man, body and soul.' This process would however only be fully completed in the next period.

#### 4. Health Care

The period after 1950 saw Lubwa Mission gradually moving out of the area of education. There was a similar development in health care. In 1944 Lubwa Mission still saw an unbreakable link between its religious and its medical work. Health services were provided 'out of compassion for human needs.' 'Missionaries should try to emulate the example of Christ who came to heal mankind in body, soul and mind.' According to Dr Brown: 'His (Christ's) healing touch was itself a Gospel.' But the existence of human need for health care was also an important criterion. Medical work was a proper activity for the missions as long as it was not done by another organisation.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>. Rev. D. M. Brown, MD, CM, 1944, 'The Ministry of Healing', in: *Report of Proceedings of the 9th General Missionary Conference*, Lovedale Press. Whether Christian mission should get involved in health care and other social services or not is still a major



The idea of the basic unity of medical and spiritual care was three years later still more forcefully expressed by Dr Brown: 'The Ministry of Healing aims at the cure of the whole man, body, mind and spirit, and this can only be achieved within the fellowship of the Christian Church. ... (T)he Ministry of Healing (is) ... an integral part of the Gospel message and a function of the Christian Church.' 'The health conditions of the rural areas form a challenge to the Church. The problem can best be attacked by the integration of medicine, education and agriculture by Christian forces.'<sup>1</sup> Dr Brown expressed here, if not the theory, then the practice of mission at Lubwa for the past three decades. This comprehensive and broad view of Christian mission agrees with the African concept which considers healing and religion as one complex.

If only the need for medical facilities was the criterion then there was ample scope for medical mission work in the district. The major health problems in this period were malnutrition and tuberculosis. According to Brown in 1944 the number of people suffering from venereal diseases increased as a side effect of labour migration.<sup>2</sup> Figures given about the incidence of venereal disease however seem to us now not alarming. In 1947 the three districts Mpika, Chinsali and Isoka had 115 cases of syphilis and 41 cases of gonorrhoea in a population of about 100,000; Shiwa Ng'andu recorded then only twenty-five cases of syphilis.<sup>3</sup> Most health problems must have remained unrecorded but

issue in the discussion between evangelical and ecumenical theologians. Dr Brown represents here the ecumenical position, although he had been ordained as a minister in the more fundamentalist and 'evangelical' United Free Church of Scotland.

<sup>1</sup>. BP Dr D. M. Brown at the Christian Medical Work Conference, St. Colm's, April 1947, for Church of Scotland missionaries and nurses, organized by the FMC, April 1947.

<sup>2</sup>. Rev. D. M. Brown, MD, CM, 1944, 'The Ministry of Healing', in: *Report of Proceedings of the 9th Conference held at the Jeanes School, Chalimbana River, 2 June-5 July, 1944*: 51-53.

<sup>3</sup>. ARNA, 1947. Dr Brown may have stressed his concern about the incidence of venereal diseases as these were associated with immorality and consequently formed a threat to Christian marriage and family, the linchpin of the Christian community. The 8th GMC had expressed similar concerns: 'There is no proper marriage at the mines here...just adultery,' 'men take temporary wives,' 'some women commit adultery for food and clothes.' The solution to which this mainly male company came was: restricting the movement of women. Government had to make registration of African marriages compulsory, and women without marriage certificates were not to be admitted into the towns and mines (*Report of the Proceedings of 8th GMC, 1939*: 85-6). See also M.

medical facilities to tackle the problems mentioned were very limited. In 1948 the district had the following medical facilities: Lubwa's Annandale Hospital, the Shiwa Ng'andu Government Hospital founded by Gore-Browne, and two government dispensaries, one at Mundu and one at Chinsali. Three itinerant medical orderlies were employed by the Native Authorities.<sup>1</sup> An important share of the medical services in the district was provided by Lubwa. Table X|| shows the number of inpatients admitted in 1948-1953, and the number of outpatients in 1950-1953. In 1951 Lubwa Hospital employed 20 people: one medical doctor, 8 medical assistants, 6 nurses and 5 others, including those in training.<sup>2</sup>

In 1950 the Government began to give grants on the basis of the average daily number of inpatients. This was in 1947 £ 17, in 1951 £ 53, and in 1952 £ 61 per patient per year. The grants received were: £ 2,060 in 1952 and £ 2,440 in 1953.<sup>3</sup> Lubwa made efforts to spread medical services more evenly over the district. Lubwa Mission had

TABLE XII: LUBWA: INPATIENTS, OUTPATIENTS, 1949-53.

	inpatients	outpatients
1948	604	
1949	1,136	
1950	1,451	19,061
1951	1,900	28,618
1952	1,430	14,153
1953	1,769	15,728

subdispensaries or first-aid posts at each of its Central Schools and at the larger Sub-Central Schools. In 1944 there were twenty-two such dispensaries. Teachers in the second year of Lubwa Training School received training in the use of first-aid boxes supplied to them. Most of the time at least six hospital assistants were in training. They followed a three-years' course. Lubwa's major role in health care in the district would not last long. In 1950 an agreement was made with the Government that Lubwa and Chitambo hospitals were to be regarded as 'welfare centres.' Only Mwenzo would remain as a district hospital.

Chanock on the preoccupation of missionaries as well as Government with the problem of immorality and the male control over women (M. Chanock, 1985, *Law, Custom and the Social Order: the Colonial Experience in Malawi and Zambia*, Cambridge).

<sup>1</sup>. RHL 971(5) Annual Report Chinsali, 1948.

<sup>2</sup>. NAZ HM 28 UN 9/2 Church of Scotland Statistical Returns, Lubwa Hospital.

<sup>3</sup>. NAZ HM 28 UN 1/11 Medical Matters, 1955-1962, David Wilson to Africa Secretary, FMC, 23 03 1956.

Government hospitals would be build<sup>t</sup> in Chinsali and Serenje bomas.<sup>1</sup> It took the Government ten years to accomplish this; Lubwa Hospital remained in function till 1960 when the government hospital in Chinsali boma was finally opened.

### 5. African Advancement

The period under review saw a decentralization of the work of Mission and Church. With it came a delegation of authority and responsibility from the centre (Lubwa) to subcentres, and from European to African. In 1946 Chinsali District was divided into nine areas.<sup>2</sup> Each area was supervised by an evangelist who had five catechists to work with. Each catechist was responsible for four villages. Each village was supposed to be visited once every fortnight for half a week. Each of the nine areas had its own elders and deacons, who were members of Lubwa Kirk Session. The idea for decentralisation may have come about partly for practical reasons. The new parish system introduced after the war increased the number of villages in the district.<sup>3</sup> This made touring by missionaries and the African minister more difficult. Decentralisation saved qualified manpower needed for touring. It could also provide more opportunity for local initiative. This decentralisation of mission work and of the Church gave greater responsibilities to Africans. It had always been the Presbyterian ideal to have a Church run by local people, completely independent *qua* funding and supervision from the mother church. Decentralisation helped to reach this goal. The number of elders and deacons increased considerably. Lubwa had in 1940 28 elders; in 1946 it had 34 elders and thirty deacons. Young men were also eligible for these prestigious offices. Robert Makasa for instance was only 24, and a second year student of Lubwa Training School, when he was elected an

<sup>1</sup>. *Report to General Assembly, FMC, 1950: 391.*

<sup>2</sup>. These nine areas or evangelistic districts were: Mpandala, Nkweto-Mubanga, Musanya, Nkula NE, Nkula SW, Nkula S, Mukungule and Chibesakunda (see also below Appendix V, p. 258 on the situation in 1954, when there were twelve evangelistic districts).

<sup>3</sup>. The neighbouring Roman Catholic Mission of Ilondola had 135 villages in 1946, and over 300 in June 1948 (WFA Ilondola Diary, Rapport de la Mission, June 1947-June 1948, 18-7-1948).

elder.<sup>1</sup> The work of the Kirk Session was now left completely to the African members. Europeans would only attend when specially requested.<sup>2</sup> In 1949 a District Church Council (DCC) was formed which replaced Lubwa Kirk Session. Five local Kirk Sessions were in charge of a congregation, a Church. Each congregation sent four delegates to the DCC and arranged for its own church services. The result: more local activity and 'a friendly rivalry qua Church offerings.'<sup>3</sup> The decline in 1951 in number of centres of worship is difficult to explain. It could be related to the sudden unexpected dismissal of all but four catechists who played a crucial role in the new decentralised organisation of Lubwa Church. In July 1952 Lubwa and Kasama merged. In 1953 Lubwa Presbytery had 36 centres with regular church services, three times the number of 1939. The number of elders had increased from 26 (all male) to 66, of which six were women. It is, however, not clear why in 1953 the number of separate congregations was reduced to two, while the number of centres of worship remained the same. This could indicate that the policy of decentralisation was reversed.

TABLE XIII: CONGREGATIONS, CENTRES OF WORSHIP, AND CHURCH ELDERS, 1939-53.

	'39	'40	'46	'49	'50	'51	'52	'53
Congregations	1	1	1	5	5	5	6	2
Centres of worship	12	13		35	70	22	36	36
Elders (male)	26	28	34	50	40	36	60	60
Elders (female)	0	0		3	6	6	10	6

The election of women as elders was an important step. In the period under review they remained a minority in the kirk-sessions. Women were underrepresented in the positions from where elders were mostly recruited: the mission teachers, catechists and evangelists. Helen Kaunda and Delilah Chali assisted the missionary for women's work, Miss Pairman Miller, but there were no women catechists or evangelists.

<sup>1</sup>. Kapasa Makasa, 1981, *March*: 19. European mission staff joined the local congregation, but apparently discouraged their election to the eldership.

<sup>2</sup>. UCZ 618 Annual Report Lubwa, 1946.

<sup>3</sup>. NAZ HM 28 UN 9/2 Church of Scotland Statistical Returns; UCZ 618.

Lubwa had women who were engaged to advance the position of women, but these were not paid. In 1949 Lubwa had forty of them.<sup>1</sup> The church elders of Lubwa had the opportunity to attend meetings of the Presbytery of the Church of Central Africa in Rhodesia [CCAR]<sup>formed</sup> in 1945 of which Lubwa became part.<sup>2</sup> In this way these men and women got experience with problems of church organisation far beyond the borders of Lubwa District Church. In 1947 Tom Sabi, John Mpuku and Willie Ng'oma were delegates of Lubwa; in 1951 A. Nkamba, and J. Nkamba; in 1952 S. Sampa and R. Nkashi, and in 1953 Yonam (John) Mpuku and M. Musonda.

In 1941 Brown declared that Lubwa aimed to have 'an enlightened, wholly literate Church membership.' Catechumens had to make a vow: 'to try to learn to read God's Word in their own tongue.'<sup>3</sup> The link between evangelization and education remained strong during the war, but thereafter gradually weakened. In 1939 328 villages in Chinsali District were served by Lubwa Mission and provided with the services of teacher, catechist and evangelist.<sup>4</sup> In the early 1940s school centres were still used as district church centres for baptisms, communions and religious services. In 1940, in twenty such 'multi purpose centres' special services were held on Sundays.<sup>5</sup> Only in 1952 preparations were being made to establish for the first time separate 'prayer houses' in Chinsali boma and in Nkula's village.<sup>6</sup>

Africanization of leading positions in the Church took place in the period after the war. In 1944 the Middle School teacher Isaac Mfula Mutubila of Lubwa was sent to Livingstonia when the theological course was resumed. At the beginning of 1945 a new house was built for him at Lubwa and in the same year he was ordained as a church minister, the first Bemba to be ordained.<sup>7</sup> This was three years after the ordination of

<sup>1</sup>. *Report to the General Assembly for 1949, FMC, Edinburgh, 1950: 390.*

<sup>2</sup>. See below: 6. Church Union, p. 146.

<sup>3</sup>. BP Circular Letter 15-2-1941.

<sup>4</sup>. UCZ 893 Annual Report Lubwa, 1939.

<sup>5</sup>. UCZ 618 Annual Report Lubwa, 1941.

<sup>6</sup>. UCZ 618 Annual Report Lubwa, 1952.

<sup>7</sup>. One year later, on 25 August 1946, the first Roman Catholic Bemba priest, Yoani Yamibaba was ordained at Chilubula Mission. Fr. Kakokota of Chilonga was the first

Ewen Siwale of Mwenzo at Chitambo.<sup>1</sup> Isaac Mfula Mutubila was, soon after his ordination, elected Clerk of the CCAR, together with Kenneth MacKenzie.<sup>2</sup> Paul Mushindo had followed the theological course of Livingstonia in 1938 and 1939. He was ordained in 1947, the year of the death of Dr Brown, by Rev. Henry Kasokolo of Mbereshi (LMS).<sup>3</sup> It was not easy to become an ordained minister of the CCAR. One had to have a St. 8 certificate and to have completed two years' training as an evangelist, before one qualified for entry into the three years' theological course of Livingstonia. A minimum of two years' experience was also required. Before ordination one had to complete a one year's probationary period.<sup>4</sup> This amounts altogether to a minimum of eight years' training after St. 8.

The Deacon's Court, with the 22-year old Kenneth Kaunda as secretary, was considered in 1946 strong enough to handle *all* Church finance. All evangelists and catechists were paid by the Deacon's Court through its treasurer, Reuben Mulenga. The mission transferred the money to pay these employees to the Deacon's Court. All other expenses, including salaries of the minister and presbytery evangelist, and gifts to the poor and the aged, were met by church contributions.<sup>5</sup> In 1952 a Station Committee and a Hospital Committee were set up at the initiative of Fergus Macpherson, missionary in charge since January 1952. These committees had an African majority and were given administrative responsibilities in the area of education, health care, and religious work. The Church and the Native Authority should also be represented at these committees.<sup>6</sup> The Native Authority, however, seems to have declined the invitation.<sup>7</sup> Participation in decisionmaking in the church councils (kirk-sessions), in the Deacon's Court and in other church bodies

African priest of Lwangwa Vicariate. He was ordained on 24 August 1949 (see below, p. 154).

<sup>1</sup> BP Circular Letters 29-6-1945.

<sup>2</sup> *Minutes of Presbytery, 1948*, MP48/34.

<sup>3</sup> Paul Mushindo, 1973, *The Life*: 31.

<sup>4</sup> LOA File Church Correspondence. Re.: Church membership etc., 5-2-1945.

<sup>5</sup> UCZ 618 Annual Report Lubwa, 1946.

<sup>6</sup> NAZ HM 28 UN8/2 1951 Report on Lubwa Station.

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix II, p. 243 below, for membership of the Station Committee.

provided training for the organisation of and participation in the Welfare Association, Congress and the co-operatives of the district.

Evangelists and catechists were among the salaried staff of the mission charged with evangelistic, pastoral and educational duties. Evangelists had an important position in the organisation of the Church. They had the pastoral care of the Christians in their area, but they were usually also members of one of the kirk-sessions. They were ordained as 'preaching elders' by Lubwa District Church Council. A minimum of a St. 6 certificate was needed to enter the two years' course for evangelists. One had to have two years' practical experience before one could be ordained by the District Church Council.<sup>1</sup> There was a Presbytery Evangelist in charge of the other nine evangelists. From at least 1938 to 1951 this was Daniel Besa. In 1949 Isaac Mfula Mutubila, minister at Lubwa, took over Daniel Besa's responsibility for the evangelists, and Daniel Besa became evangelist for the station area. In October 1950 Paul Mushindo took over from Isaac Mfula Mutubila as minister at Lubwa.<sup>2</sup>

In 1950 all but four of the 29 catechists then employed were dismissed. The reason for this unexpected and unpopular decision was the wish to stimulate 'lay service.' The work the catechists were doing was in fact work that active Christians were supposed to do voluntarily and unpaid. The catechists had an important role at village level in the network of the Church. They were, under the resident evangelist of the area, in charge of the evangelistic work of four to six villages. They were teaching classes for hearers and catechumens. They were also teaching in 'Beginners' schools'. The catechists may have felt the loss of position and status almost as badly as the loss of regular income, which was very low.<sup>3</sup> The sudden decline in the number of places of worship in the

<sup>1</sup>. LOA File: Church Correspondence, re.: Church Membership 5-2-1945.

<sup>2</sup>. Isaac Mfula Mutubila moved then to the Copperbelt, where he became an important and highly respected figure. He was the first President of the United Church of Central Africa in Rhodesia (UCCAR), formed when the Copperbelt congregations united with the CCAR in 1958. He served in Luanshya (P. Bolink, 1967: 334). In 1960 he was minister at Mindolo. Tragically he died of heart failure in 1961 (Rev. W. V. Stone, 5-1-1991, in letter to author).

<sup>3</sup>. In 1941 the catechists earned as little as £ 2 a year; by 1949 they received 15/- a month, but they were not paid every month (UCZ 893 and NAZ HM 28 UN9/2). What could have made the decision to dismiss the catechists even more painful was the fact that the catechists had been recruited in 1935 from the group of mission teachers who

district from 70 in 1950 to 22 in 1951 could well have been caused by the refusal of the catechists to do now without remuneration work for which they had previously been paid. In 1951 Barnaba Lundu became Senior Evangelist. Lubwa was then left with only five evangelists and nine catechists.<sup>1</sup> Lubwa employed in 1953 for its evangelistic and pastoral work, in addition to Paul Mushindo as minister and Noah Chulu as probationer<sup>2</sup>, nine evangelists and six catechists. The salary costs of these seventeen workers were about £ 400 a year,<sup>3</sup> yet church donations to the local Church, Lubwa District Church, amounted then to only about £ 150 (Table XV| below). The Church of Scotland Mission apparently remained prepared, at least for the time being, to support financially the evangelistic and pastoral work *of* the Church although with a reduced staff.

TABLE XV: LUBWA MISSION: EVANGELISTIC STAFF (AFRICAN)

	'41	'48	'49	'50	'51	'52	'53	'54
Ministers	-	1	1	1	2	2	2	2
Evangelists	11	11	10	10	6		9	
Catechists	52	30	29	4	9		6	15

By 1940 Lubwa had expanded its mission activities across the borders of Chinsali District into the area hitherto served solely by the White Fathers. Kasama and Mpika had self-supporting congregations in 1940 which were doing evangelization work in surrounding villages. People in prison were visited.<sup>4</sup> Kasama had at times a resident evangelist placed there by Lubwa. In 1941 this was Isaac Muchindikeni and in 1952 probationer Noah Chulu. The Kasama Congregation was in

were made redundant by the mission because they did not anymore qualify for the government grants for honorary certificated teachers (UCZ 771 Staff Meeting, 26-3-1935).

<sup>1</sup>. NAZ HM 28 UN 9/2 Staff List Lubwa 1951.

<sup>2</sup>. Noah Chulu was then a probationer at Lubwa. He was ordained in 1954. He came from Chitambo district, where he served most of his ministerial career (Rev. W. V. Stone, 5-1-1991, in letter to author).

<sup>3</sup>. HM 28 UN9/2 Lubwa 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954.

<sup>4</sup>. UCZ 618 Annual Report Lubwa, 1940. The Kasama Kirk Session had been constituted already in 1935. It was then recognized as a District under Lubwa Kirk Session of the CCAP (BP Circular Letters, 29-2-1936).



1949 proudly described as 'self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating', the Presbyterian ideal.<sup>1</sup>

In July 1952 Lubwa and Kasama church areas merged and one Lubwa-Kasama DCC was established.<sup>2</sup> A new church was under construction in Kasama in 1953.<sup>3</sup> A congregation of Lubwa Church, 'a flourishing little Christian community', was set up in 1949 at the court of Chitimukulu by church members who had gone there when they succeeded to positions as traditional councillors and

TABLE XVI: LUBWA:  
LOCAL LIBERALITY

	£
1939	70.2.9½
1940	86.9.7½
1948	108.11.5
1952	146.10.3
1954	254.11.7

administrators. Regular church services were held and a Hearers' Class had thirty members.<sup>4</sup> The Mpika Congregation had been set up by boma clerks and teachers of the local government school.<sup>5</sup> Travellers from Mpika to Kasama and from Chinsali to Kasama and vice versa were confronted by Yotam Lulembo, a Lubwa catechist who served at the Chambeshi Pontoon.<sup>6</sup>

Lubwa also had links with the United Missions to the Copperbelt (UMCB). The UMCB was established in 1936. The Livingstonia Mission had contributed two missionaries on a staff establishment of eleven (including wives). These were George Fraser and his mother, Dr Agnes Fraser, the widow of Donald Fraser. Two African pastors from Nyasaland, Iesaya Konje and Isaac Gondwe also joined the team of the UMCB.<sup>7</sup> Lubwa evangelists served on the Copperbelt. Luka Chafilwe worked as an

<sup>1</sup>. UCZ 893 Annual Report Lubwa, 1949. The ideal of 'the three selves' had a wider appeal than the Presbyterians. The concept is from the Anglican Henry Venn and the Congregationalist Anderson. The concept had also some popularity with the Dutch Reformed Mission in Eastern Province, where it was used as an argument to form *ethnic* churches (Gerdien Verstraalen-Gilhuis, 1982, *From Dutch Mission Church*: 208, 289, and 327) (see also above p. 63).

<sup>2</sup>. UCZ 618 Annual Report Lubwa, 1952.

<sup>3</sup>. UCZ 618 Annual Report Lubwa, 1953.

<sup>4</sup>. UCZ 893 Annual Report Lubwa, 1949. This could well have been an initiative of Able Chisashi (Personal communication by Patrick Mushindo to author, Kitwe, 23-9-1983).

<sup>5</sup>. UCZ 893 Annual Report Lubwa, 1949.

<sup>6</sup>. UCZ 893 Annual Report Lubwa, 1949.

<sup>7</sup>. *Report of the Proceedings of the GMC*, 1944: 71; SOAS IMC/CBMS Box 1212 (mf.48) UMCB First Annual Report, 1936-7.

evangelist in Luanshya under George Fraser from 1940 to 1942.<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of 1942 Simon Sampa of Lubwa was 'solemnly set apart for working among the Bemba on the Copperbelt.'<sup>2</sup> Lubwa-trained teachers also served on the Copperbelt with the UMCB. Robert Kaunda was a teacher under George Fraser in Luanshya in 1939.<sup>3</sup> After the war a number of Lubwa diplomates obtained for a short period employment with the UMCB. Kenneth Kaunda, Robert Makasa and John Sokoni were employed as teachers in 1948, while Simon Kapwepwe was employed as a welfare assistant in 1948-9.<sup>4</sup> Apparently Lubwa had a good reputation with the UMCB. The low salaries paid, compared to what the mines offered, made it impossible for the UMCB to retain these young men.

Lubwa had always devoted more resources to its educational and medical work than to direct evangelisation. Dr Brown had to divide his attention between his evangelistic work, his educational responsibilities as Manager of Lubwa District Schools (up to 1942) and as Manager of Schools (up to 1943)<sup>5</sup> and his medical work. He went on leave to Scotland in May 1946 and died a few months after coming back to Lubwa in 1947. He was succeeded as medical doctor by John Todd.<sup>6</sup> William Bonomy MA, BD, who had come in 1946 to teach at Lubwa Training School, acted as missionary-in-charge till his transfer to Chitambo in 1948. Kenneth MacKenzie came to Lubwa as missionary-in-charge in 1948 from Blantyre, Nyasaland. He was in fact the first missionary available full-time for religious missionary work since the retirement of MacMinn in 1932. However he soon took upon him

<sup>1</sup>. TI Luka Chafilwe, Kalalantekwe, 27-5-1982

<sup>2</sup>. BP Circular Letter 22-2-1942.

<sup>3</sup>. UCZ 619 Union Correspondence 1937-1948, Dr David Brown, Lubwa. In the case Robert Kaunda the transfer to the Copperbelt looks more like a banning from Chinsali District. Dr Brown was not willing to accept Robert back when he asked to be posted at a Central School in Chinsali District.

<sup>4</sup>. Fergus Macpherson, 1974, *Kenneth Kaunda*: 74; Kapasa Makasa, 1981, *March*: 11. According to Goodwin Mwangilwa Kapwepwe was in 1948 first employed as a teacher at Wusakile Primary School and then as an assistant welfare officer at the Kitwe Municipal Council (Goodwin Mwangilwa, 1986, *The Kapwepwe Diaries*, Lusaka: 9).

<sup>5</sup>. See above p. 127, note 1 for the reasons of the dismissal of Dr Brown as Manager of Schools.

<sup>6</sup>. John Todd had spent many years in Nyasaland as a medical missionary. He had been on war service, and had a practice in the UK. On retirement, he offered himself as a doctor for Lubwa Hospital without any remuneration (Mrs. Elizabeth Nelson, 10-8-1987, in letter to author).

extensive administrative responsibilities as Senior Clerk of the CCAR and Secretary of the Interpresbytery Committee.<sup>1</sup> He left Lubwa for Chitambo in his function of Education Secretary in 1951.

Lubwa Mission made a contribution to the production of written literature in ChiBemba.<sup>2</sup> Priority was given to the translation of the Bible. This was a major task to which MacMinn and Mushindo had set themselves. MacMinn on retirement in 1931 had chosen to continue his translation work on the Bible on a voluntary basis, on condition that Paul Mushindo would be available to join him in the task.<sup>3</sup> In 1916 the British and Foreign Bible Society published a Bemba translation of the New Testament and the Psalms, *Chipingo Chipya na Masamo*, which was a joint effort of H. C. Nutter, W. Freshwater, both LMS, and W. Lammond of the Garenganze Mission. This translation was revised by MacMinn, W. Lammond, G. W. Simms (Plymouth Brethren) and W. Freshwater and published in 1934 as *Chipingo cifya*.<sup>4</sup> The production of a complete Bible in ChiBemba was delayed because of serious disagreement between G. W. Simms of the Plymouth Brethren and MacMinn. The former advocated the Union Bemba spoken in the Luapula and on the Copperbelt; MacMinn and Mushindo advocated the 'pure' ChiBemba spoken by the elders of Lubemba.<sup>5</sup> In May 1941 the Conference of Chi Bemba speaking missionaries from various societies met at Lubwa under the chairmanship of Mr. Bevan of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

<sup>1</sup>. *Minutes of Presbytery*, 1956, MP 56/11.

<sup>2</sup>. In 1929 a Bemba Hymn Book of 391 hymns was published. A series of Bemba readers was produced: *Amabuku yakubelengelamo iciBemba*, Nos. 1-4. A Handbook of Christian Conduct was also produced (*Imibele ya Buntu Bwine Bwine*). Lubwa had an Agricultural Reader (*Ifilimwa Fimo ne Milimine ya fiko*), a translation of J. R. Fell's *Field Crops*, published by the Christian Literature Society. A Handbook for Catechumens and Church Members (*Amasambililo ya Bena Katekumene na Bena Kristu*) was published by Livingstonia Mission. J. K. Nsofu and P. M. Mushindo, both Lubwa teachers, had in 1929 their Folktales and Stories published as *Imilumbe ne Nfimi fintu ba Simika ku Lubemba*, Livingstonia (Clement Doke, 1959, 'The Linguistic Work and Manuscripts of R. D. MacMinn', in: *African Studies*, 18: 182). We have already mentioned the Hygiene Primer (*Umwakumweno bumi*) by Mrs. MacMinn, published by the Christian Literature Society (see also above p. 57).

<sup>3</sup>. Paul Mushindo, 1973, *The Life*: 26-7.

<sup>4</sup>. DR Entry in the 1949 diary of MacMinn. MacMinn gave the impression that this was a completely new translation made by himself (Doke, Clement, 1959, 'The Linguistic Work': 182).

<sup>5</sup>. Paul Mushindo, 1973, *The Life*: 53.

MacMinn was also present. The meeting expressed 'high hopes of seeing a unified and worthy edition of God's Word in ChiBemba.'<sup>1</sup> Between 1942 and 1949 MacMinn had the Old Testament books of Genesis (*Ukutendeka*, 1942), the Psalms (*Amalumbo*, 1943), Isaiah (*Yeshaya*, 1943) published.<sup>2</sup> In 1943 a readjustment committee was formed to revise especially the prophecies and poetic passages. This committee consisted of Leslie Barham (Plymouth Brethren), S. Chileshe, Fergus Macpherson and Paul Mushindo.<sup>3</sup> In 1950 MacMinn returned to Northern Rhodesia from Glasgow, where he had lived for a few years, to do the proofreading of the Bemba Bible jointly with Leslie Barham in Kalundu.<sup>4</sup> This arrangement did not work out well. It took till September 1956 before the Bemba Bible translation was finished, published and distributed in the area, twenty-five years after MacMinn had set himself together with Mushindo to the task. MacMinn died only a few months before 'his' Bible, the *Baibele wa Mushilo*, was published.<sup>5</sup> It is likely that the language itself had changed considerably over these twenty-five years in view of the increased mobility of the people and the socio-economic changes in Bemba-speaking areas. Moreover also the ideas of how to translate had changed over this period. MacMinn and Mushindo used the formal correspondence method of translation. This method gives primary attention to the words employed and the grammatical details of the source language, the original Hebrew and Greek. With respect to the receptor language the translator looks for the corresponding word forms and tries to render the original as literally as possible. Minimal attention is paid to the deep-level cultural context in

<sup>1</sup>. BP Circular Letter, 22-4-1942.

<sup>2</sup>. Clement Doke, 1959, 'The Linguistic Work': 183, and G. E. Coldham (ed.), 1966, *A Bibliography of Scriptures*: 74-80.

<sup>3</sup>. *Minutes of Presbytery*, 1951 MP51/42.

<sup>4</sup>. DR 1949 Diary of MacMinn.

<sup>5</sup>. MacMinn had a big influence on this edition of the Bemba Bible. He had produced lists of 'foreign words' (from English and neighbouring Bantu languages) which he had replaced with Bemba equivalents. A large number of these appear in the 1956 Bible (Clement Doke, 1959, 'The Linguistic Work': 183). Paul Mushindo paid tribute to MacMinn in a memorial service held at Lubwa. Mushindo stressed MacMinn's contribution to the translation of the Bible. MacMinn had been 'a man who had almost a passion for the special work that turns the scriptures of our faith into the people's own tongue' (Fergus Macpherson in a letter to MacMinn's daughter Mrs. Doris Rodger, 14-8-1956) (NAZ HM 28 UN 1/26 UCCAR 1956-62).

which words participate and from which they derive meaning. Rev. Macpherson, among others, favoured a dynamic-equivalent translation of the Bible. This method tries to reproduce the meaning of a passage as understood by the author, in the cultural matrix of the receptor, the modern reader.<sup>1</sup> In 1967 Rev. W. V. Stone was put in charge of an effort at an ecumenical Bible translation, together with the Roman Catholic Fr. John Lyamibaba and Mr. John Lester Membe of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1970 the New Testament was translated on the lines of the Good News Bible. The work was later continued by Rev. A Roy and then by Rev. W. McKenzie. This led to the 1983 translation of the Bible, the *Ifipangano fyakwa Leesa*.<sup>2</sup> There is a similarity between African traditional religion and the theology of the Old Testament. Because of the long delays in having a complete Bible in ChiBemba available Lubwa Mission missed the opportunity to reach the people through the biblical message of the Old Testament. This may have influenced the type of Christianity developing at Lubwa; it may have had also an adverse effect on the development of the Church in the district.<sup>3</sup> Lubwa also prepared a number of other publications. These were mainly of a moralistic or religious nature.<sup>4</sup> In most cases circulation and sales

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Nida and W. D. Reymann, 1981, *Meaning Across Cultures*, New York and other works by Eugene Nida, and: Charles Kraft, 1979, *Christianity in Culture. A Study in Dynamic Biblical Theologizing in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, New York: 264-275. Formal correspondence translations in English are: the King James Version, the American Standard or the RSV. Dynamic-equivalent bible translations are: Phillips, the New English Bible and the Living Bible.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. W. V. Stone, 5-1-1991, in letter to author. Rev. Stone was in 1965 Principal of the Theological College of the United Church of Zambia. He served as missionary at Lubwa from 1956 to 1960. Rev. W. McKenzie served at Lubwa as missionary-in-charge from 1960 to 1967, and then continued with the bible translation work from Mporokoso. He left Zambia in 1976.

<sup>3</sup> Some contemporary missiologists plead even for the use of, at least initially, *only* the Old Testament in the conversion of African peoples because of the similarity between Old Testament theology and the theology of African traditional religions (e.g. Ch. H. Kraft, 1979, *Christianity in Culture*: 352, 364, 400-402).

<sup>4</sup> In 1952 six publications came out: *Mumfwe Ipepo Lyandi* ('Prayers for Children'), *Umulubushi Wesu* ('Our Redeemer', a handbook for preachers, with notes for study and preaching, from Lubwa), 'Old Testament Stories' and 'Lessons for Church Members and Catechumens', 'The African and the Sunday School' and 'How to Start a Sunday School'. The latter two publications were translated by Paul Mushindo in ChiBemba (*Minutes of Presbytery*, 1952, MP52/40 and MP52/36). In 1953 five publications came out: *Bena Efeso* (*Kalibuku* 12), 'Introduction' (*Kalibuku* 13), *John Mwina Kristu ato ntonkanya bwalwa* ('John Mwina, the Christian thinks about beer'), Carols (all from Mbereshi), and *Umulubushi Wesu*. The International Bible Reading Notes were also translated in ChiBemba (*Minutes of Presbytery*, 1953, MP53/27).

were very limited,<sup>1</sup> but since so little published material was available it still had some impact on ChiBemba literates and the usage of the written language. The White Fathers of Kasama and of Lwangwa Vicariate also produced Bemba reading material, some of which was quite successful.<sup>2</sup>

Lubwa's influence in the district in 1953 could be compared with that in 1939 by comparing the absolute and relative number of people reached by the network of Lubwa of church, and schools. If one compares Table XVI (p. 145) with the figures for the expansion of Lubwa in the previous period it is apparent that the rate of expansion of Lubwa in the district slowed down. The figures for the 'total Christian community' of Lubwa<sup>3</sup> may be too optimistic in view of the high rate of labour migration which especially affected the young men with education, who were overrepresented amongst the Christians of Lubwa Church. The Annual Report on Native Affairs of 1952 estimated that about 9 % of the men and 11 % of the women had left the district and lost all contact with their villages. This was considered 'low.' However this still represents about four thousand people. The majority of men, according to the Report, would go away for a period of three to five years and then return and settle for good in their villages of origin. Labour migration affected in particular men of the age group twenty to thirty-five.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>. In 1949 Lubwa Report on Church Work complained about the disappointing sales of vernacular religious literature (UCZ 893 Report on Church Work during 1949). The Annual Report of 1953 noted that only a few of the church leaders away from the mission were in the possession of copies of the New Testament (UCZ 618 Annual Report Lubwa, 1953).

<sup>2</sup>. A list of the twelve bestsellers of the Northern Rhodesia Literature Committee gives three Bemba titles, but none of these was produced by authors from Lubwa Mission. The titles are: 'English-Bemba Phrase Book' by G. Mbikusita Lewanika (circulation 2,250), *Imilandu ya Babemba* ('History of the Bemba') by Fr. F. Tanguy (1,000) and *Insoleso sha Mano* ('Advices for the times' based on traditional proverbs), by Rev. H. Kasokolo (circulation 1,000) (G. H. Wilson, 1950, The Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland Joint Publications Bureau, in: *Africa*, 20, 1: 60-4, quoted in: Margaret Read, 1953, 'Recent Developments in Adult Education', in: *Symposium on Popular Education, Leiden*, 1952, Leiden 1953: 64). Rev. H. Kasokolo was a minister of the Union Church of the Copperbelt.

<sup>3</sup>. The size of the 'total Christian community' was calculated by adding the number communicant members (i.e. the full members), the baptized members (i.e. those baptized as children, but who had not yet completed the catechumen course) and the catechumens (those who had completed the hearers' course).

<sup>4</sup>. See also: Mary E. Jackman, 1973, *Recent Population Movements in Zambia: Some Aspects of the 1969 Census*, Manchester: 23, Table 7.

TABLE XVI: LUBWA'S INFLUENCE IN THE DISTRICT IN 1939 AND 1953

	1939	%	1953	%
Population of the district	30,000	100	44,313	100
Total Christian community	3,992	13	4,960	12
Children at Sunday Schools	8,077	27	150	0
Pupils at Lubwa schools	2,009	7	3,192	7
Inpatients	1,769	4		
Outpatients	30,000	100	15,728	36
Teachers	78		111	
Evangelists	10		9	
Catechists	34		6	
Church elders	26		66	

Note: The figure for outpatients and the figures for evangelists and catechists under 1939 are from 1938.

There is an overlap between 'baptized members' (included in 'total Christian community') and 'pupils'; it was the policy of Lubwa to baptize only older children.<sup>1</sup> If we assume that half of these pupils were included in the 'total Christian community' we can say that Lubwa after five decades of evangelization and educational work had reached about 15% of the population of the district. In the fifteen year period 1939-1945 Lubwa's 'total Christian community' had not increased relative to the population of the district as a whole. Recruitment for the war and labour migration, intensified by the increased job opportunities on the Copperbelt during the boom period 1949-1956,<sup>2</sup> may have made Lubwa lose a considerable number of its active, educated members. These may have returned after a shorter or longer period, as suggested by the 1952 Report on Native Affairs, but their absence meant for the Church that it could not rely on them for its church extension work. Of those who left

<sup>1</sup>. NAZ HM 28 UN 9/2 Lubwa Training School, 1950, J. Nelson, Principal.

<sup>2</sup>. Between 1947 and 1956 the value of copper sales rose from £ 31 million to £ 116 million. In 1956-8 the copper prices fell again (A. D. Roberts, 1982, 'Notes Towards a Financial History of Copper Mining in Northern Rhodesia', in: *Revue Canadienne des études africaines*: 356-7). In the 1950s the Copperbelt began to attract more labour migrants from Chinsali District.

the district for good, members of Lubwa Church, with the advantage of their relatively high education, could well be overrepresented.

## 6. Church Union.

After Lubwa Church had joined the CCAR the existing ties with Livingstonia at Khondowe, Nyasaland were loosened. But it became part of a Church with a much wider geographical coverage, which included most of Northern Province, part of Central Province, part of Eastern Province, the Luapula and the Copperbelt. This gave elders and other church members an opportunity for territory-wide contacts within this Church of Central Africa. The church union was an example of ecumenical cooperation as Presbyterian and Congregational churches formed one body.

Dr Brown of Lubwa had been the driving force behind efforts to unite the churches founded by the Presbyterian Livingstonia Mission and those founded by the Congregational London Missionary Society (LMS). Both missions felt threatened by the expansion of the White Fathers. The Union Church of the Copperbelt (UMCB) also became involved in these church union negotiations.

In December 1937 the first meeting which aimed at church union in the Northern Province took place at Lubwa between representatives of Livingstonia Mission and the LMS. It was explicitly stated that in the new Church '(t)here would be no colour distinction and Europeans and Africans would have equal status.' The Kasama Congregation was already an example of church union of the LMS and the Church of Scotland.<sup>1</sup> The name of the Church would be 'the Church of Central Africa', 'not in a spirit of arrogance and exclusiveness, but as anticipating further union.'<sup>2</sup> The original idea was that the Congregational Church (LMS) would unite with the Church of Central Africa (Presbyterian) (CCAP). The CCAP was formed in 1910, uniting the

<sup>1</sup>. BP James Brown, 1950, 'The Good Fight': 130-1. The first kirk-session of Kasama was constituted in 1935. The majority of the members came from the LMS, a few from Livingstonia. The congregation became recognized as a District under Lubwa Kirk-Session of the CCAP [BP Dr Brown, Circular Letter, 29-2-1936].

<sup>2</sup>. Peter Bolink, 1967, *Towards Church Union*: 219.



Presbyteries of Livingstonia and Blantyre into one Synod under the name of the CCAP.<sup>1</sup> Mkhoma Presbytery of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission of the Cape Synod (DRC) joined the CCAP in 1926. The new church union, envisaged by Brown, would show in his opinion, that against Rome 'the forces of the Reformed Faith can also unite.'<sup>2</sup> The 'historic act of Church Union' took place on 1 December 1945 at Chitambo. The morning service during which the union was consummated was conducted by Dr Brown, Moderator of the North-Eastern Presbytery of the Church of Central Africa (Presbyterian). The union united the Union Church of the Copperbelt, the N. E. Presbytery of the CCAP (i.e. the congregations of Lubwa, Mwenzo, Chitambo and Chasefu) and the Congregational Church originating from the LMS. The resulting united body was named as: the North Eastern Presbytery of the Church of Central Africa in Rhodesia (CCAR). Three African ordained ministers represented the three uniting churches. Rev. Isaac Mfula Mutubila of Lubwa, Clerk of the N. E. Presbytery of the CCAP, represented the CCAP, Rev. Henry Kasokolo the Union Church of the Copperbelt, which in itself was already an example of church union, and Rev. John Chifunda the LMS congregations. Four more African ordained ministers were present, a demonstration of the efforts made at African advancement in these churches. They were: the Revds. Jonathan Mukwasa and A. T. Nyasulu of Mwenzo, E. Siwale of Chitambo and Job Mukandabili (Mkandawiri) of the Union Church of the Copperbelt.<sup>3</sup> Also present were the Governor, Sir John Waddington, the Anglican Bishop R. Selby Taylor and the Rev. E. G. Nightingale of the Methodist Church. In recognition for his contribution in the final realization of this church union Dr Brown was elected its first Moderator, while Isaac Mfula Mutubila became its Clerk, and Ewen Siwale and Alexander T. Nyasulu

<sup>1</sup>. Because of World War I the actual consummation of this union was delayed till 1924 (John McCracken, 1977, *Politics*: 247-9 and Peter Bolink, 1967, *Towards Church Union*: 193-5).

<sup>2</sup>. UCZ 1125 Lubwa Report, 1937.

<sup>3</sup>. WM From: Program of Church Union, and NAZ HM 28 UN 1/12 Minutes recording the formation of the N. E. Presbytery of the CCAP, Chitambo, 30-11-1945. Also: Peter Bolink, 1967: 253-5.

members of the Standing Committee.<sup>1</sup>

The aim had been a joint Presbyterian Church of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, hence the name Church of *Central Africa*. The Mkhoma Presbytery of the CCAP (Dutch Reformed Mission Church) was, according to Brown, in favour of joining this wider union. It withheld, however, support because of the negative attitude of the Dutch Reformed Cape Synod.<sup>2</sup> After this act of church union there was some confusion in Nyasaland, because the congregations of Lubwa, Mwenzo, Chitambo and Chasefu were also part of the CCAP. One day before the formation of the CCAR the four local congregations of Mwenzo, Chitambo, Lubwa and Chasefu had united as 'the N. E. Presbytery in N. Rhodesia of the CCAP'.<sup>3</sup> The Synodical Committee of the CCAP expressed the hope that the CCAR would work as a sister-church with the CCAP.<sup>4</sup> It had already been decided that for practical reasons it was better to separate administratively the Nyasaland and the Northern Rhodesian *missions* of the Church of Scotland. In 1948 the Church of Scotland followed the ecclesiastical separation between the Northern Rhodesian CCAR and the Nyasaland CCAP by setting up its own Mission Council in Northern Rhodesia independent of that in Nyasaland.<sup>5</sup> Soon after establishing the church union, efforts were made to found a Union Bible School for the training of evangelists and ministers. This would render the use of the theological training institute at Livingstonia in Nyasaland unnecessarily. The formation of the CCAR had effects on the efforts to integrate Mission and Church in the 1950s and 1960s. The CCAR provided more scope for

<sup>1</sup>. NAZ HM 28 UN 1/12 Presbytery: Synod of CCAR 1948-1960; Minutes recording the formation of the N. E. Presbytery in Northern Rhodesia of the CCAP, Chitambo, 30-11-1945.

<sup>2</sup>. UCZ 893 David M. Brown to General Secretaries FMC, Edinburgh, 19-1-1946. There was some animosity between the Cape Mission and the Free State Mission of the Dutch Reformed Church. When Madzimoyo, a result of Free State mission work, wanted to join the CCAP in 1939 it was also prevented by the Cape Synod which had influenced the Mkhoma Presbytery of the CCAP (Gerdien Verstraelen-Gilhuis, 1982, *From Dutch Mission Church*: 204).

<sup>3</sup>. NAZ HM 28 UN 1/12 Presbytery: Synod of CCAR 1948-60; Minutes recording the formation of the N. E. Presbytery in Northern Rhodesia of the CCAP, Chitambo, 30-11-1945.

<sup>4</sup>. *Minutes of Presbytery*, 1946 MP 46/38.

<sup>5</sup>. J. V. Taylor and Dorothea Lehmann, 1961, *Christians of the Copperbelt*, London: 55.

African advancement and leadership than the small regional-based churches which had entered the church union. Rural congregations like Lubwa became directly involved with the specific problems of church building in the urban areas through participation in the Presbytery of the CCAR.

### **7. Relations with the Roman-Catholics**

During the whole period under review relations between Lubwa and the White Fathers' Mission of Ilondola remained difficult. Some cooperation in the educational field took place in the District Advisory Committee on Native Education established in 1936, in which the DC, Gore-Browne, the three chiefs of the district (Nkula, Chibesakunda and Mukwikile) participated together with an African and a European representative of Ilondola and Lubwa. There were occasional social visits between the European staff of Ilondola and Lubwa, but mutual understanding was virtually absent. There were in the period under review several incidents of animosity and conflict between Roman Catholic and Protestant Christians. The death of Pius XI led a Protestant teacher at Mulumika near Mulilansolo Mission to spread the news on 30 March 1939: 'The Pope is dead, the head teacher of Katibunga is dead, five Katibunga pupils are dead!' In Kasanta nobody came to listen to the instructions given by the Father Superior of Mulilansolo. He also had to debate till midnight with the Evangelist Reuben Nkashi of Lubwa. A Protestant teacher at Mwalule came with his pupils to pray and sing at the top of their voices at 4.30 a. m. near the tent of a White Father who was on tour.<sup>1</sup> In October 1949 White Fathers alleged that Protestant schools enticed the children away from a Roman Catholic missionary on tour by organizing feast evenings or camp fires on the very day of his arrival.<sup>2</sup>

The Roman Catholics felt that the Protestants with their 'loose' views on the Sacraments could not be saved. The White Fathers abhorred the Protestant view that baptism is 'not absolutely necessary

<sup>1</sup>. WFA Mulilansolo Diary 30-3-1939: 41-2.

<sup>2</sup>. WFA Mulilansolo Diary 22-10-1949.

for salvation, but only a special sign of those who belong to Christ.' They blamed the resistance to the Roman Catholic baptism, they experienced in the district, to the 'pernicious influence' of Protestant ideas on the sacraments. The Protestants, however, did not share the Roman Catholic urgency of saving people by baptizing newborn children or sick and dying persons '*in articulo mortis*.'<sup>1</sup> There are indications that the Roman Catholics did not even recognize the Protestant baptism as valid. In 1951 the Presbytery of the CCAR protested to the bishops at Chilubula, Ilondola and Ndola against the rebaptism of CCAR members who joined the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>2</sup>

The White Fathers' evangelistic policies differed from those of Lubwa. Compared with Lubwa there was less effort to train Africans for positions of responsibility in the Church, and less was left to the African initiative. Much attention was given to converting chiefs. This does not seem to have been an important factor in the mission policy of Lubwa, which in a way is understandable for a *Free Church Mission*. The White Fathers seem to have tried to make the whole Bemba tribe join the Roman Catholic Church through the chiefs and other members of the leading clan, the *beni Ng'andu*. Great efforts were made to have the chiefs baptized. However on ascending a chieftainship one also became heir to the wives of the former incumbent. Polygamy prevented baptism. If the 'ordinary' baptism could not be given then one could at least try to give chiefs the emergency baptism, the baptism '*in articulo mortis*.' This met with opposition from traditional councillors and others in the immediate surroundings of the chief. A councillor of Chief Nkweto who died on 13 April 1940 had 'to cheat' Fr. Hoch to prevent him from giving this baptism to the dying chief.<sup>3</sup> However Chief Mubanga was baptized one hour before his death on 31 January 1951, and was consequently given a Catholic burial, while a big cross was placed on his grave.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> WFA 521 155-165 Lwangwa, Rapport annuel, 1946, Vicariat de la Lwangwa.

<sup>2</sup> *Minutes of Presbytery, 1951*, MP 51/38.

<sup>3</sup> The Councillor, called 'Subchief' Chiana by Hoch, had told him that Chief Nkweto was on a journey (WFA Mulilansolo Diary, 13-4-1940: 61).

<sup>4</sup> Mubanga had five wives, from whom he had to divorce on his deathbed! (WFA Mulilansolo Diary, 4-2-1952)

Lubwa was no more successful than the White Fathers in making the chiefs join its Church. Lubwa made at times overtures to the chiefs as in 1952 when the Native Authority was invited to be represented at the Lubwa Station Committee. The offer was rejected.<sup>1</sup> The chiefs continued to give priority to their traditional ritual duties. The inheritance of the wives of the predecessor was one such duty which prevented church membership. They seem to have taken a pragmatic viewpoint by dividing their favours equally between the two rival missions, and seem to have been mainly interested to see that the missions continued to supply the needed educational and medical services to their people. We see them on occasion even trying to play off one mission against the other.

As shown above the White Fathers remained dedicated to their village primary schools and these had now an important place in their evangelization policy.<sup>2</sup> Children were included in the category 'baptized Christians.' School children were sometimes baptized when they were only eight or nine years old; that is after they had passed an examination in the catechism '*Katekismu wa bonse*.'<sup>3</sup>

The old system of evangelization had been to rely on catechists for the propagation of the Word. In 1947 Lwangwa had forty of these itinerant catechists, moving around the Vicariate in groups of two.<sup>4</sup> They received three days of instruction from the Father Superior before each tour. They moved equipped with a catechism, a prayerbook, the *Chitabo che Sali* and a hymnbook.<sup>5</sup> In 1949 their pay was 22/6 per month of five weeks and thirty working days. In 1953 they received 1/-

<sup>1</sup>. This contrasts with Chief Nkula's positive attitude towards Lubwa in the previous period. Chief Nkula Musungu had a dedication service in the new church building of Lubwa when he entered in his Chieftainship in 1937. At this service he and his people made solemn vows of mutual faithfulness. (BP Photographs)

<sup>2</sup>. WFA Mulilansolo Diary 24-1-1940: 57.

<sup>3</sup>. WFA *Circulaires Abercorn*, Circular 6, 1949, 6-11-1949, Ilondola.

<sup>4</sup>. WFA 521 157 Rapport Annuel, Lwangwa, 1946-47.

<sup>5</sup>. The *Chitabo che Sali* contained everything the catechist needed: daily prayers, hymns, the commandments and the ritual that could be performed without the presence of an ordained priest, such as prayers for the sick and the baptism *in articulo mortis*. The *Chitabo che Sali* was also popular with Bemba Roman Catholic labour migrants (H. Hinfelaar, 1989, 'Religious Change': 186).

per day.<sup>1</sup> Although these catechists had been useful as 'announcers, guides and informers for the Fathers on tours' it was decided in September 1949 to introduce a new type of better-trained catechist. These would be given a more independent role. A Catechist School was established in Ilondola.<sup>2</sup> A two-year course provided training in subjects like: methods of teaching catechism, English, arithmetic, and general knowledge. For admission to the Catechist School one needed a minimum of St. 6 education. A special skill would be taught to enable the catechists to earn money when not employed by the mission. They would also get extra duties as part-time mass-literacy agents, for which they would receive special training. They had to report every month to the mission. Every year a one-month refresher course and retreat was offered to them. Two-and-a-half months of the year they would be free to prepare their gardens. They would then receive no pay. The salary was set at 35/- per month when working (including 2/6 per month saved towards pension). This was quite low as even ordinary road workers (road scrapers) received already 32/6 per month. The aim was to have resident catechists at all 127 outstations of the vicariate. This meant an annual expenditure of £ 2,000.<sup>3</sup> The new catechists seem to have had difficulties in getting accepted by the people. At one of the refresher courses they complained that the people had refused them food. They also complained of being treated impolite and considered only 'badly paid labourers'.<sup>4</sup>

In 1949 the White Fathers introduced a system of outstations (*succursales*). The outstations were selected in such a way that no village would be more than six or seven miles away from such an outstation. Missionaries would only visit the outstations. The resident catechist

<sup>1</sup>. WFA CA 7-7-1949.

<sup>2</sup>. WFA 521 159 Rapport Annuel Vicariat d'Abercorn, 1949-1950.

<sup>3</sup>. WFA 521 159 Rapport Annuel, Vicariat d'Abercorn, 1949-1950.

<sup>4</sup>. WFA Ilondola Diary. The people told the new catechists: 'You are only ordinary people' (*Kanshi ba fye*), and 'You see, you are only workers' (*Te papo, muli ba ncito fye*). The Bemba with their strong feeling for hierarchical relationships did not want to extend some of the privileges of the fathers to the new and better trained Catechists. To be called 'only an ordinary worker' is an insult for the average Bemba (information Fr. Hugo Hinfelaar). *Ncito* refers to paid work introduced with the money economy as opposed to *mulimo*, which is more traditional and 'noble' (information Fr. J-L.Calmettes M. Sc.).

would see that the Roman Catholics were present when the priest visited the outstations.<sup>1</sup> This system had similarities with the system of Central Schools of Lubwa. However, the system of Lwangwa was not connected with the educational system as closely as that of Lubwa.

The Roman Catholic mission tried with more success than Robertson twenty years earlier to introduce indigenous music in the church. The driving force behind the idea was Fr. F. van Rijthoven. From December 1950 *drums* were used to call people for prayer services. At Christmas 1950 use was made of the Missa Katanga of Jusufu Ciwele of Elizabethville. In March 1951 the same mass was used again in a service.<sup>2</sup> Participation in traditional ceremonies however was discouraged. As seen before the mission was specially opposed to the *chisungu* ceremony.<sup>3</sup> In 1952 Chief Chibesakunda promised the missionaries of Mulanga Mission to stop these ceremonies, especially when Christian girls were involved. Pagan girls would not get permission to leave school for these ceremonies.<sup>4</sup> In November 1953 a report reached Fr. Ideler of Mulanga Mission that Roman Catholic girls had been forced to undergo the *chisungu* ceremony. He first asked Chief Chibesakunda to fine the parents 2/6. Later on however after consultation with councillors and teachers it was decided not to take any action as there was no written law forbidding *chisungu* ceremonies.<sup>5</sup>

Lubwa had its first local African ordained in 1945. Several ordinations had followed a few years later. There were no efforts at Africanisation of important positions in the Roman Catholic Church and Mission. The idea of lay participation still had to be developed. Africanisation meant for Lwangwa Vicariate directing efforts at the training of a few selected Africans for the priesthood. Strict celibacy, a very alien concept to Bemba tradition, was demanded. In the period under review three Africans were ordained in Lwangwa Vicariate, of

<sup>1</sup>. WFA Circulaires Abercorn, Meeting RRFF Superiors of Lwangwa Vicariate with the Vicar Apostolic present, Ilondola, 7-7-1949: 3.

<sup>2</sup>. WFA Mulilansolo Diary, 21, 22 and 23-12-1950.

<sup>3</sup>. See above p. 107 and 113.

<sup>4</sup>. WFA Mulanga Diary: 24.

<sup>5</sup>. WFA Circulaires Abercorn Circular, 6, 1949, Ilondola 6-11-1949.

which only one came from the area of Chinsali District. On 24 August 1949 Pascale Kakokota was ordained at Ilondola. He held his first solemn High Mass at Chilonga on 28 August 1949. One year later two more ordinations followed: those of Frederic Cilumba of Ilondola Mission and Augustin Seketa of Chilubula.<sup>1</sup> In 1952 Abercorn Vicariate, the new name for Lwangwa Vicariate, could boast of 40,066 baptized Christians exclusive of those who had stayed for a period of more than eight years at the mines. It had nine mission stations: Ilondola, Chilonga, Chalabesa, Katibunga, Mulanga, Mulilansolo, Kayambi, Mambwe, and Abercorn. It had a European staff of 34. Ilondola then had over 5,000 baptized Christians although it was situated '*en plein pays protestant*,'<sup>2</sup> and Mulilansolo Mission 1,000.<sup>3</sup> This was quite a success. A factor in the establishment of the Roman Catholic Church in Chinsali District was the movement of people from Roman Catholic Lubemba and Ituna to Protestant Ichinga and Chilinda, because of marriage, family relations and succession to an office of headman, councillor or chief. At the same time, such movement arising from marriage and succession also helped Protestants to get a foothold in formerly purely Roman Catholic districts like Kasama and Mpika.

### 8. Jehovah's Witnesses

The period under review saw the emergence of another religious movement in the district: that of the Jehovah's Witnesses of the Watchtower Bible and Tract Society (WTBTS). Since 1935 Northern Rhodesia had a branch of the international Watchtower Bible and Tract Society (WTBTS), supervised by Llewellyn Phillips, a European from South Africa. He had difficulties in bringing 'irregular' Watchtower adherents into the fold of the international organisation. Before the late 1940s it is often difficult to distinguish between the 'official' Jehovah's Witnesses of the WTBTS and the independent Watchtower groups

<sup>1</sup>. The people of Ilondola for unknown reasons were not impressed. They did not participate at all in the festivities the Church had organized for their fellow villager (WFA Ilondola Diary, 27- 8-1950; *Circulaires Abercorn, Lwangwa*, No. 4 of 1949, 9-7-1949).

<sup>2</sup>. WFA 521 157-521 163 Rapport annuels du Vicariat de la Lwangwa/ Vicariat d' Abercorn, 1948-1954.

<sup>3</sup>. These figures include children (WFA Mulilansolo Diary, 31-12-1952).



scattered over the country.<sup>1</sup> Among the Bemba of Chinsali there were not many of these independent Watchtower groups. They were not attracted to the movement before the 1940s because it was dominated by leaders from their former subject tribes. Chitimukulu called the Watchtower movement a movement of 'mannerless slaves.' According to Sholto Cross the Bemba were not interested because of their stronger hierarchical structure. The Watchtower had been strong in Isoka District since Hanoc Shindano had introduced the movement there in 1918 among the Mambwe, Iwa and Namwanga, with a temporary spillover into Chinsali District.<sup>2</sup> The local name for the 'irregular' Watchtower adherents as well as for the Jehovah's Witnesses of the WTBS is 'Watchtowers' or *Bachitawala*.

Jehovah's Witnesses were first recorded in the district in February 1939 by Fr. Hoch of Mulilansolo Mission, near the border of Isoka District. He met them in the Mubanga area. His account of them then was not unsympathetic: 'With the Bible always at hand they moved through the country. Out of their own free will they brought in their village flour, chicken etc. to the father, without accepting any counter-gift according to the bible text: *sine succulo, sine pera*...<sup>3</sup>. In October 1940 a Mulilansolo father had another encounter with two 'Witnesses of Jehovah.' They had an English Bible and a New Testament in ChiBemba.

<sup>1</sup>. Griffith Quick, 1940, 'Some Aspects of the Watchtower Movement in Northern Rhodesia', in: *International Review of Missions*, 29: 216-226; Henry Meebelo, 1971, *Reaction*: 170-171; Sholto Cross, 1973, 'The Watchtower Movement': 190-217; A. D. Roberts, 1976, *A History*: 199-200; Karen E. Fields, 1985, *Revival and Rebellion in Colonial Africa*, Princeton: 233ff; Meebelo gives an account of some of the difficulties Philips met when trying to make Watchtower groups join his WTBS.

<sup>2</sup>. Henry Meebelo, 1971, *Reaction*: 136-7. Sholto Cross, 1973, 'The Watchtower Movement': 215. William Watson describes the role of the WTBS among the Mambwe in the period 1919 and 1955 (William Watson, 1958, *Tribal Cohesion*: 197ff). In 1919 Lubwa reported 'the pouring in of the Watch Tower Movement in the northern part of the District' (UCZ 1125 Annual Report, Lubwa, 1919). Thereafter no mention is made of Watchtower activities till 1951.

<sup>3</sup>. WFA Mulilansolo Diary, 13-2-1939: 39; Matth.10:10: 'no bag for the journey, no purse.' This refers to the story of the sending out of the twelve disciples by Jesus. Jesus charged his disciples: 'As you go preach this message: "The kingdom of heaven is near."...Freely you have received, freely give. Do not take along any gold or silver or copper in your belts; take no bag for the journey, or extra tunic, or sandals or a staff; for the worker is worth his keep.' This description seems indeed more appropriate for the roaming Jehovah's Witnesses than for the European missionaries who only occasionally made tours, which they prepared well in advance, often taking with them carriers and full camping equipment (see photographs 26, 27 and 31 below).

Their aim was to evangelize Isoka.<sup>1</sup> By 1948 Tomo's village near Mulilansolo had come more and more under Watchtower influence.<sup>2</sup> In 1950 there was also a purely Watchtower village, called Mweni Tawa. The attitude had now changed: the headman did not come to greet the touring priest and food could not be bought.<sup>3</sup> In August of the same year a real fight broke out between Roman Catholics and Jehovah's Witnesses at Tomo's village.<sup>4</sup> In 1952-3 Jehovah's Witnesses began to discourage parents from sending their children to school. They were preaching against the Pope, against the missionaries, against the teachers.<sup>5</sup> It is not quite clear why the Jehovah's Witnesses around Mulilansolo became all of a sudden so opposed to the Roman Catholic mission and Roman Catholics in the period 1950-1953. It could well be related to the general politicization of the district in this period.<sup>6</sup> After 1919 Lubwa did not refer to regular activities of Watchtower until 1951.<sup>7</sup> In the 1940s there was only one village with Witnesses in central Chinsali District: the old village of Matutu.<sup>8</sup> By 1951 there were two more such villages: Mukoba near Chibesakunda, and Joseph. Later Nkula's village, Chilunda and Chinsali township got congregations of Jehovah's Witnesses.<sup>9</sup>

The real growth of the Jehovah's Witnesses in the district originated in the early 1950s and can be attributed to the work of the

<sup>1</sup>. WFA Mulilansolo Diary, 30-10-1940: 69-70.

<sup>2</sup>. WFA Mulilansolo Diary, 8-10-1948.

<sup>3</sup>. WFA Mulilansolo Diary, July-August 1950.

<sup>4</sup>. WFA Mulilansolo Diary 4-8-1950.

<sup>5</sup>. WFA 521 162 Rapport Annuel Vicariat d' Abercorn.

<sup>6</sup>. Similar incidents took place between Watchtower adherents and H. J. Barnes, a missionary of the LMS in the area of Chief Nsama and Mporokoso in 1938. Parents here also withheld their children to attend the mission schools (Henry Meebelo, 1971, *Reaction*: 172-3).

<sup>7</sup>. In 1951 the Station Report mentions 'increased activity' (UCZ 618 Station Report, Lubwa, 1951). However no incidents are mentioned similar to those experienced by the Mulilansolo fathers. The Ilondolo station diary does also not mention any Watchtower activity.

<sup>8</sup>. TI John Kamana, 22-5-1982. This information given by my informants seems to contradict Meebelo (1971, *Reaction*: 47) who claims that there was by 1919 'a sizeable population' of Watchtower adherents in Chinsali District. These lived in the villages Chilemba and Longwe. Sholto Cross, however maintains that there were Watchtower adherents in Chinsali District, but very few Bemba became attracted (Sholto Cross, 1973, *The Watchtower Movement*: 196).

<sup>9</sup>. TI R. Majoni, 25-5-1982, and interview John Majoni, Chinsali, 9-4-1979.

Majoni brothers of Nkula's village.<sup>1</sup> Rodson Majoni of Nkula's village learnt about the doctrines of the WTBS in 1949 when he was 24 years old and worked as a bricklayer at Roan Antelope Mine in Luanshya. He was baptized there and received a six-month training course in the principles of the WTBS. He was also taught how to preach. He had St. 4 from Lubwa and was familiar with the basic tenets of the Presbyterian faith. In his view the basic difference between the teachings of the Jehovah's Witnesses and Lubwa was that Lubwa taught that when a man dies he goes to Heaven. The Witnesses on the other hand believe that when a man dies 'it is finished and nothing comes again.' Lubwa taught that 'the good people go to Heaven to enjoy, and bad people to Hell where they are suffering.' The Witnesses believe however that 'there is a selection of the people at the time of the Second Coming of Christ: all those who are in the grave who hear the voice of the Lord, will rise up from the grave. The people who have done right will live on; the people who have done wrong will perish.' 'The Church is going to be a new Church.' Jehovah's Witnesses according to Majoni do not believe in spirits. Devils and demons, which have power to change their bodies and to look like a man, exist. These can then make people believe that they come from God.<sup>2</sup> The other two brothers of Rodson Majoni also found their way to the same faith. John Majoni, the younger brother, took a course to become a medical assistant after his St. 6 at Lubwa. He went to Salisbury for work. There he began to attend the meetings of the Jehovah's Witnesses, and was baptized. In 1951 he came back to Lubwa and got work as a medical assistant at Lubwa Hospital under Dr John Todd. Dr Todd allowed him to preach in his free time saying that the

<sup>1</sup>. Interviews with the Majoni brothers and with John Kamana. The success of the Majoni brothers as compared to Hanoc Shindano three decades earlier could be attributed to the fact that the Majonis are 'real Bemba'. The father of the Majoni brothers was a grandson of Chitapankwa sent there to defend Chinsali against Ngoni attacks (interview Mishect Majoni, Chinsali, 6-6-1978).

<sup>2</sup>. TI Rodson (or Lotson) Majoni, Nkula's Village, 25-5-1982. This exposition of the beliefs of the Jehovah's Witnesses is similar to the accounts given by Watson (1958:197-8), Norman Long (1968, *Social Change and the Individual*, Manchester), Sholto Cross (1973, 'The Watchtower Movement') and Karen Fields (1985, *Revival*: 92-98).

people should judge for themselves.<sup>1</sup> Mishect, the elder brother, learnt about the WTBS like Rodson, while working on the Copperbelt. He also joined the movement.

From the information given by John Majoni it seems that the Watchtower movement meant a much more radical break with the religious past than either Presbyterianism or Roman-Catholicism. If there is no belief in spirits no coexistence is possible with traditional Bemba religion. Devils and demons exist, but Witnesses are warned against them. Belief in witches and witchcraft, very much connected with the belief-system of African traditional religion, seems virtually absent.<sup>2</sup> Millenarianism has always been a distinct part of Watchtower belief and the later WTBS teachings. This may have attracted people who felt oppressed or frustrated. In the words of Majoni: 'Hunger, war and oppression are just signs of the end time. The Kingdom of Heaven is near.'<sup>3</sup> There is no evidence of clashes between Jehovah's Witnesses and members of Lubwa Church in the period under review. The tolerant view of Dr Todd is in fact remarkable in view of the often strained relations with the Roman Catholics. Apparently the Jehovah's Witnesses were not perceived as a threat in the same way as the Roman Catholic mission because the WTBS did not compete with Lubwa in the area of education and health care.

<sup>1</sup> John Majoni was later sent to Ujiji in Tanganyika as a Watchtower missionary. He stayed there for three years, but did not manage to make more than one convert. Thereafter he was sent to Kampala again as a missionary. On return from Kampala he settled as a peasant farmer in Nkula's village, while playing a leading role in the WTBS branch of Chinsali District and Northern Province (Interview John Majoni, Chinsali, 9-4-1979).

<sup>2</sup> In 1982, at the time I interviewed Rodson Majoni Shimpala, a *mucapi* or witchhunter had established himself in Nkula's village. The man worked in close cooperation with Chief Nkula, who received part of the fines in the form of free labour for his gardens done by people who wanted to purify themselves from an accusation of involvement in witchcraft. Majoni considered it as cheating the people and argued that he did not see any result of the activity of the *mucapi*, except that the chief had a bigger garden than he ever had before: 'People are still becoming sick and dying.'

<sup>3</sup> TI Rodson Majoni, Nkula's village, 25-5-1982. The Jehovah's Witnesses, because of their close fellowship, their rituals, selfgovernment in the Church, absence of belief in spirits meant a very great break with the religious past and consequently also with the rest of society. There are many records of Jehovah's Witnesses trying to separate themselves and form their own villages. Karen Fields *inter alia* stresses the important function of the WTBS in witchcraft eradication (Karen Fields, 1985, *Revival*: 268 ff).

### 9. Traditional religion

By 1953 the Presbyterian mission had been in Chinsali District for almost five decades. Lubwa had tried to reach as many as it could but its means in church work, education and health services were unequal to the task. Lubwa Hospital catered mainly for those in the immediate environment of the hospital. Many people in the district, especially those further away from mission station and hospital, must have continued to rely on the local *ng'anga*'s for the healing of their physical ailments and also for their spiritual needs. There is little information about the strength of traditional religion in the written records of missions and government. Some educated African Christians, however, did not see a contradiction between Bemba traditional religion and Christianity, but a continuity: 'We prayed to the spirits and they heard,' 'We were praying to Lesa ...', '... they [the Africans before the arrival of the missionaries] worshipped God through their spirits, ... they knew right and wrong, and ... they believed in the life hereafter.'<sup>1</sup> This was in fact in line with what was taught by the more enlightened missionaries of Lubwa like Maxwell Robertson.<sup>2</sup> This approach to christianization of accepting the traditional belief system was reiterated by a former student of Lubwa, Samuel Mumba, when he explained his approach in evangelization. 'You begin from the known to the unknown... You say [to a traditionalist]: In addition to your spirits don't you know there is someone who made the spirits? ... This man is greater than your spirits! ... Then you open the Bible ...'<sup>3</sup> The educational system of Lubwa had been a major means of

<sup>1</sup>. These three quotations are from: Donald Siwale (TI Nakonde, 25-5-1979), Robert Kaunda (TI Shambalakale, 1-12-1979) and Paul Mushindo (1973, *The Life*: 52). One could add Robert (Kapasa) Makasa, mission teacher and church elder of Lubwa, who made this idea of a continuity between traditional African religions and Christianity an argument for affirmation of racial equality, stating in his political campaigns against the introduction of Federation in the early 1950s in the district, that 'the God the whites were talking about ... was the same *Lesa*, our Creator.' Because of this fact Africans could not be called in a derogatory way 'pagans' (*abasenshi*), as if they did not know God before (Kapasa Makasa, 1981, *March*: 41).

<sup>2</sup>. 'We were building in religious instruction on what already existed' (TI Maxwell Robertson, 11-4-1981). See also previous chapter about his view on adapting the forms of Christian worship to the African religious concepts and ideas. Special mention could be made here of his concept of Christ as 'the Head of our Spirit Village' (IMC/CBMS Box 1212 mf 38 7th GMC Northern Rhodesia, 1935).

<sup>3</sup>. TI Samuel Mumba, Lubwa, 23-5-1982. He was at Lubwa from his birth in 1923 till 1943. His father was a teacher at Lubwa and a deacon.

bringing people in contact with the Christian message. However, most pupils received only a few years of education at the lowest levels of the system. For them, often living further away from the mission station there were few, if any, incentives to change their religion, and customs.

Some examples can be given of the tenacity of traditional beliefs. In 1939 the Chinsali DC, W. V. Brelsford, noticed three cases of *ngulu*, people possessed by some dead chief, dancing, selling medicine, divining and fortune-telling.<sup>1</sup> In 1944 Chitimukulu called upon the high priest Shimwalule to intercede with the spirits as the rains would not stop. This was effectively done by Shimwalule by pulling some grass from the roof of the relic hut; the rain entered and wet the sacred relics. It was claimed that this sacrilege had the desired effect.<sup>2</sup> The Mulilansolo Diary described Shimwalule in 1949 still as the 'real centre of Babemba paganism. All were then looking to Shimwalule because of a failure of rain. Chitimukulu intended to make a case against Shimwalule who seemed unable to make rain!<sup>3</sup> The explanation of ill-fortune, disease and death in terms of the influence of witchcraft and evil actions of witches remained current, in fact even in circles very close to mission and Church. Missionary teaching about witchcraft as a superstition and fear of witchcraft as lack of faith seems to have been largely ineffective. The general feeling in Lubwa Church might well be represented by the statement of an African quoted by Dr Brown: 'As a Christian I do not believe in it (i. e. in witchcraft), but as an African I do.'<sup>4</sup>

In 1943 Lubwa had a nasty incident of witchcraft accusation. The headmaster of the Upper Primary School of Lubwa, Levi Kaleya who came from Nyasaland, was alleged to have received a parcel 'with an oily

<sup>1</sup>. For an analysis of the *ngulu* phenomenon: Louis Oger WF, 'Spirit Possession among the Bemba. A linguistic approach', paper Conference on the History of Central African Religions (cyclostyle copy). Chinsali had then according to Brelsford the reputation of having more than the average number of 'witches and other members of the more spiritual class of persons' (NAZ SEC 2/751 Tour Report No. 7/39). The Acting Chief Secretary T. F. Sandford did not believe these observations in the Tour Reports and the Annual Report served any purpose and warned Brelsford 'not to allow his interest in anthropology to swamp his duties to general Native administration.'

<sup>2</sup>. W. V. Brelsford, 1944, 'Aspects of Bemba Chieftainship', in: *Communications Rhodes-Livingstone Institute*, Lusaka: 3 (IAS reprint, 1974).

<sup>3</sup>. WFA Mulilansolo Diary, 31-1-1949.

<sup>4</sup>. BP James Brown, 1950, 'The Good Fight': 139.

substance' by post. This was considered suspicious by the whole community. Witchcraft accusations were made openly. 'A carpenter died because of him, they said.' A riot broke out: it became impossible for him to continue working. Dr Brown had to go to Livingstonia to solve the problem, where the Presbytery declared the charge: 'Not proven.' It is striking that the Livingstonia Presbytery did not dismiss the charge as nonsense, as Dr Brown would have preferred, but looked into the allegations for evidence. By doing this they acknowledged in a way the validity of the belief in the power of witchcraft. Levi Kaleya, although not declared guilty, had to leave Lubwa, after having lived there for almost fifteen years, and had to return to Nyasaland.<sup>1</sup> The Presbytery of Livingstonia went even further by sending a motion to the Governments of Nyasaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia urging them to take further steps against 'men practising witchcraft and claiming to have magical powers' in order 'to curb the sinister activities of these deceivers and robbers of their fellow Africans.' The Church Council did not ask the Government to take action against those who falsely made accusations that people practised witchcraft, as was provided for in the Witchcraft Ordinance.<sup>2</sup> This is a clear indication how seriously the Presbytery took the incidence of witchcraft. It is also evidence of its inability to tackle the problem. The Roman Catholic mission did not fare

<sup>1</sup>. Personal communication to author, Patrick Mushindo, Sept. 1983, and TI John Kamana, 25-5-1979. Fergus Macpherson (1974, *Kenneth Kaunda*: 66) also mentions the incident. He, however, does not mention that the witchcraft accusation was the cause of the action against Kaleya. Macpherson adds that the Chinsali DC Reeves got involved in the affair and recommended the transfer of Levi Kaleya to Livingstonia.

<sup>2</sup>. BP James Brown, 1950, 'The Good Fight': 139. See also above: pp. 108-10. The Witchcraft Ordinance of 1914 stressed the latter, and made accusations of witchcraft a criminal offence. According to a present-day Zambian lawyer, Herbert Chilonga the Ordinance (which is basically the same as the present Witchcraft Act, Cap. 145 of the Laws of Zambia) does not punish persons who possess the power of witchcraft, but those who use the power to find the cause of illness, prescribe lucky charms etc. The Witchcraft Ordinance denies that something like the power of witchcraft exists. People who claim to be witches can only be prosecuted for false pretence or cheat (H. Chilonga, *The Traditional Healer from a Legal Viewpoint, Report Conference on Traditional Healing in Zambia*, 22, 23, 24 September 1983, Kitwe, Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation: 19-20. The Witchcraft Act England had till 1736 made the prosecution of witches possible. It was the growing scepticism, the rationalism and a changed conception of nature of the late 17th and early 18th centuries which formed the background of the decline of witchcraft prosecutions in England (Keith Thomas, 1982, 'The Decline of Witchcraft Prosecutions', Chapter 18 of his *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, reprinted in: Max Marwick (ed.), 1982 (second ed.), *Witchcraft and Sorcery*, Harmondsworth: 158-173).

much better in this area. In 1949 people at Mulilansolo wanted to build a new village to get away from a person considered a witch. The man concerned and his wife were considered good Christians.<sup>1</sup>

In 1939 and 1952 stories about *Banyama* spread through the District with anti-Government and anti-European connotations. *Banyama* is derived from the word *nyama*, meat; *Banyama* are eaters of human meat, 'Vampire men' or 'cannibals'.<sup>2</sup> The story in 1939 in Mpika was that Government participated in the profits occurring from the sale of the blood and the fat of the victims of the *Banyama*.<sup>3</sup> In 1952, at the end of the year, people at Mulilansolo were afraid to go out on account of these *Banyama*. The story went that Europeans, the *Basungu*, sent people everywhere in order to catch all the people they could and bring them to the Boma. The fathers were told by people in the villages around Mulilansolo: 'You are *Basungu*; you are together; you have a secret, but you want to kill all of us!'<sup>4</sup> In 1952 the imminent introduction of the Federation may have caused fear and uncertainty, which expressed itself in these folkbeliefs and rumours. It is striking in this context to note that the Federation was depicted by Congress as a man-eating monster.<sup>5</sup> Apparently Congress made a successful appeal to these beliefs in their political propaganda.

The Church was not able to provide relief from fear of witchcraft or *Banyama*. Modern medical health care and education in a scientific worldview were considered by Lubwa Mission to be the most effective means in the fight against traditional religion and beliefs. As is shown in Table XVI Lubwa at the height of its influence in the district still did not reach more than 12 % - 15 % of the population, although this was an important and influential section. But even among the people closest to the mission traditional beliefs remained relevant. MacMinn and Brown

<sup>1</sup>. WFA Mulilansolo Diary, 8-1-1949.

<sup>2</sup>. For an analysis of the *Banyama* phenomenon, see: Mwelwa Musambachime, 1987, *The Impact of Rumor: The Case of Banyama (Vampire men) Scare in Northern Rhodesia, 1930-1964*, in: *African Economic History* (Boston), 16: 201-215.

<sup>3</sup>. NAZ SEC 2/751 Chinsali Tour Report No. 1/39.

<sup>4</sup>. WFA Mulilansolo Diary, December 1952.

<sup>5</sup>. Fergus Macpherson, 1974, *Kenneth Kaunda*: 120, and Kapasa Makasa, 1981, *March*:32-3.



had presented Christianity more or less as the antithesis of traditional religion. Robertson, however, had tried to show the continuity between traditional religion and Christianity. Several educated African Christians shared his ideas.

One might apply a model where religion is described in terms of a pluralistic system.<sup>1</sup> MacGaffey, following M. G. Smith, introduces the concept of 'plural society' to interpret the phenomenon of prophetism in Kongo. A plural society is characterized by the existence of two or more different collectivities with basic institutions (economy, law, government, education, religion, domesticity). These different collectivities are there simultaneously. MacGaffey tries to describe the confrontation between the European and African collectivities in Kongo terms derived from their social structure and associated cosmology.<sup>2</sup> One could then say that the Kongo collectivity, and the modern 'European' collectivity (colonial administration, mission, church, school) operated each within their own conceptual framework. Not only was there a 'modernization of tradition' (using modern concepts to describe the traditional belief complex), there was also a 'traditionalization of modernity,' the use of traditional concepts to describe 'modern' institutions. The former was done by people like Maxwell Robertson, Paul Mushindo, Donald Siwale and Robert Kaunda; the latter was done by the nationalists of the district, who described colonial rule and white supremacy through the *banyama* myth. Another example of it is the idea some Africans had that the Europeans were getting 'strength' (*unkosho*) on a regular basis from some secret source elsewhere. This explained their superior position in society.<sup>3</sup> Lubwa missionaries, for instance, had to go regularly to Khondowe to get this 'strength'.<sup>4</sup> Government officers got this 'strength'

<sup>1</sup>. J. Fabian, 1985, 'Religious Pluralism: An Ethnographic Approach', in: W. van Binsbergen and M. Schoffeleers, 1985 *Theoretical Explorations in African Religion*, London: 138ff.

<sup>2</sup>. Wyatt MacGaffey, 1983, *Modern Kongo Prophets: Religion in a Plural Society*, Bloomington: 16-19. Smith, M. G., 1974, *Corporations and Society*, London.

<sup>3</sup>. It is of some interest to note that the word *nkosho* is now officially used by Bemba Roman Catholics to designate the sacrament of confirmation (information supplied by Fr. J-L. Calmettes M. Sc.).

<sup>4</sup>. They went there yearly in June or July to attend the meetings of the Livingstonia Mission Council.

in Broken Hill. It was also possible that another European would visit them and supply this 'strength.'<sup>1</sup> It is possible that the Jehovah's Witnesses were less affected by conflicts between traditional beliefs and 'modern' religion, because of their tendency to close themselves off from outside influences by forming their own villages or their own sections in existing villages and by a very strong social control.

### 10. Economic and social development

Between 1945 and 1953 there was considerable economic and social activity among Africans in the district. Graduates from Lubwa played a leading role in most of these activities. This could be traced back to the encouragement in mission and Church of African participation, and also to the nature and quality of the education provided. Lubwa's stress on agricultural skills and its experiments with school farms encouraged some of its brightest students to attempt a career in farming and a life based in the rural areas. Lubwa's efforts at agricultural development in the district were linked with its ideas about the development of a self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating church which needed an economic base, which was considered to lie for the Christian community of Chinsali in agriculture. In 1944 Lubwa had a nine-acre garden which was used to demonstrate new methods of agriculture serving as a model garden for the local community. In 1951 the mission had a 32 acre farm, where maize, groundnuts, cassava, sorghum, cabbage, spinach, lettuce, beans and carrots were cultivated. There were also cows for the milk.<sup>2</sup> The mission was nevertheless not able to produce always enough food for students and staff. In 1941 the food situation was 'difficult,' and Lubwa considered appointing a European to run a school farm when the war was over. The following year the food situation was 'serious.'<sup>3</sup>

A few ex-teachers from Lubwa formed the Chinsali Young Men's Farming Association. It was not however fully established before June 1949 when Kenneth Kaunda, its 'Honorary Secretary, Treasurer and

<sup>1</sup>. Interview Chikasa Mpango, 8-6-1982.

<sup>2</sup>. *Annual Report to the General Assembly, FMC, 1944*, Edinburgh, 1945: 314-5, and ARNA, 1951: 28.

<sup>3</sup>. NAM LI 1/3/20 Livingstonia Mission Council, July 1941 and June 1942.

Manager', resigned from teaching work.<sup>1</sup> In 1950 the Association signed a peasant farmers agreement. The Association operated at Shambalakale Farm. The draft constitution of 13 June 1949 definitely shows political awareness. Forming cooperatives and taking up commercial farming was a way to assert oneself politically and to free oneself from political and social control by Europeans. The draft constitution was submitted to the Commissioner of Native Development on 28 March 1950. It stated:

'This Association is open to both sexes, to all races and those interested in seeing that this District meets with success in accordance with the Aims of the Association. Fee: Men £ 2; Ladies £ 1.'

Robert Kaunda was Chairman, and his younger brother Kenneth Kaunda Secretary/Treasurer. Members were: J. D. Beyla, Alick B. Nkhata, E. Chabala, Laban Nkonde, A. M. Mwenechanye, and one other (signature illegible). The Association worked about ten acres of land and cultivated beans and groundnuts.<sup>2</sup> Some of these young men had considerable agricultural skills. Aron Mbalashi who had helped Kenneth Kaunda to establish Shambalakale Farm in 1939, had a St. 4 education from Lubwa. In 1943 he joined the Lunzua Agricultural Government School near Abercorn for a one-year course. He was thereafter appointed agricultural instructor and demonstrator at Lubwa for the primary school pupils of the boarding school.<sup>3</sup> In 1951 the Chinsali Young Men's Farming Association reported 'a successful year.'<sup>4</sup> This was the year when Lubwa reported 'hunger and famine conditions' and 'abnormally high food prices.'<sup>5</sup> Other groups of young men tried their luck in

<sup>1</sup>. A reason for his resignation may well have been his suspension by the church council because of adultery, as he had made a girl pregnant with whom he was not married (oral information, Patrick Mushindo, 1983). Although this is an open secret in Zambia it has been omitted from the Kaunda biography of Macpherson and also from the autobiography of Makasa. Adultery was a 'major offence' in the CCAP and the appropriate disciplinary action was 'immediate removal' and, in the case of teachers, it would lead to their dismissal. Restoration was possible after repentance and completion of a course of instruction (LOA Subcommittee of District Executive, Re.: Discipline, 5-2-1945) (Fergus Macpherson, 1974, *Kenneth Kaunda*: 107; Kapasa Makasa, 1981, *March*: 37).

<sup>2</sup>. NAZ SEC 1/428 and ARNA, 1950: 34. Kenneth Kaunda gives in his book *Zambia Shall Be Free* (London, 1962: 38-9) also some details about this effort at setting up a commercial farm.

<sup>3</sup>. TI Aron Mbalashi, 31-5-1982.

<sup>4</sup>. ARNA, 1951: 28.

<sup>5</sup>. *Report to the General Assembly, FMC, 1951*: 407.

farming. Some experimented with the cooperative idea. The Kamangu Farming Association was formed by a group of young men who operated a communal farm at Chibesakunda. John R. Mbao was its secretary. John Sokoni, a Lubwa graduate, was also involved with this experiment.<sup>1</sup>

Independent of these efforts of Lubwa graduates, Gore-Browne of Shiwa Ng'andu encouraged a peasant farmers scheme to be set up on the Chasosa Estate on the south bank of the Manshya River.<sup>2</sup> This scheme was not very successful. The essence of the scheme was: supervision by somebody who knew more about farming than the peasants in the scheme, oxen and tools could be borrowed, seed was supplied, produce could be sold to the Shiwa Ng'andu Government Hospital and Timba Government School. The Shiwa African Farmers Association was formed, which held bi-monthly meetings attended by the Manager of Shiwa Ng'andu Estate, Captain Crawford. In 1950 the scheme had 33 farmers. The average size of the farms was twenty acres. Every farmer had built a homestead of Kimberley brick. Crops were: maize, millet, beans, groundnut, sweet potatoes, and cassava. A six-year scheme of crop rotation was applied. However an investigation by the Chinsali District Officer in 1953 led him to the conclusion that only one farm was really successful, that of Solomon Sinkamba, a Namwanga. His profits over six years amounted to £ 152.10, and in 1953 alone to £ 37.<sup>3</sup>

To facilitate the problem of marketing ten food buying stations were established in the district: three by Lubwa, three by Shiwa Ng'andu, two by Ilondola and three by Government. The main crops then cultivated in the district were: red finger millet, maize, cassava, groundnuts, beans and small quantities of peas and rice.<sup>4</sup> An alternative market was offered by the lorry drivers on the Great North Road, who

<sup>1</sup>. Fergus Macpherson, 1974, *Kenneth Kaunda*: 44. Kamangu was the home village of John Sokoni.

<sup>2</sup>. The Estate had been occupied by Lord Ockham in 1925, but later it reverted to Native Trust Land.

<sup>3</sup>. NAZ SEC 2/758 Tour Report No. 10 of 1953.

<sup>4</sup>. RHL Chinsali Annual Report, 1948.

resold the produce elsewhere with a profit.<sup>1</sup> To stimulate these initiatives Government introduced in 1948 the post of agricultural kapasu. An African veterinary assistant was also appointed.<sup>2</sup> The interest in farming clearly seems to have been a post-war development. In 1937 Chinsali had only 96 heads of cattle (only African ownership was included in these statistics). Ten years later this had increased to 1,012, and in 1951 to almost 2,500. The cattle was imported from Isoka.<sup>3</sup> Goats became also more common. In 1950 Chinsali had over 2,500 goats, and in 1953 3,068<sup>4</sup> (Table XVI).

TABLE XVII: CATTLE CHINSALI DISTRICT 1937, 1947-51

	1937	1947	1949	1950	1951
heads of cattle	96	1,012	1,547	1,517	2,497
goats			2,015	2,537	733

*Note:* These figures exclude European owned cattle in the district. Mr. F. E. R. Rumsey alone had already 3,000 head of cattle on his farm near the Kalungu plains in North East Chinsali. His farm was bought by Government in 1950.

Many of these initiatives in agriculture do not seem to have been successful in the long run. It is however remarkable that educated young men, who were in great demand and who could have earned a considerable salary in clerical posts on the line of rail, chose a life in the rural areas and apparently shared with some of the missionaries of the 1930s the vision of rural reconstruction based on increased agricultural productivity.

As can be seen from Appendix III, p. 246 below, young men like Kenneth Kaunda, John Sokoni, Simon Kapwepwe and Robert Makasa showed a certain restlessness, being satisfied neither with an uneventful life in a rural setting in the district in which they had

TABLE XVIII: CATTLE NKULA AREA

	1953
heads of cattle	38
goats	606
sheep	58

been brought up and received their education nor with a life away from

<sup>1</sup> NAZ SEC 2/758.

<sup>2</sup> RHL Annual Report, Chinsali, 1948.

<sup>3</sup> ARNA, 1947 and 1951.

<sup>4</sup> ARNA, 1950 and 1953.

the district. The nature of the title deeds under Native Land Tenure may also have discouraged pioneer farmers from continuing with their experiments. After investments in the land it could always be claimed by the headman or chief for use by others. Acquisition of more land adjacent to one's farm could always be refused on the grounds that it was needed for others. According to the terms of Native Land Tenure the Native Authority was not even allowed to lease land to a cooperative society for farming activities.<sup>1</sup>

The post-war period was one of economic expansion. There was an increase in buying power evidenced by the increase in the number of shops. Chinsali District had 172 traders in 1947. In 1948 alone as many as 142 store licences were taken out, an increase of 24 compared with the previous year. The demand was for prints (*citengi*), bicycles, spares, hoes and garden implements, and sugar. Four tea-rooms were established serving tea with sugar, but without milk, small scones, bread and light meals. Much of the new buying power must have come from remittances by young men who had gone to the Copperbelt or Tanganyika for work. The growing revenue from copper enabled Government to expand the administration, public utilities and social services; between 1946 and 1953 the number of African wage earners in the Territory almost doubled.<sup>2</sup> Real wages rose in this period, though the main period of economic expansion in Northern Rhodesia was the period 1950-56.<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to establish a relationship between Lubwa and commercial activities outside agriculture. Interesting is the experimentation with the cooperative idea. Consumer cooperatives were formed; retailers organized themselves. The Association of African Traders bought trade goods in bulk. There were then also two consumers' cooperative societies, one at Shiwa Ng'andu and one at

<sup>1</sup>. NAZ SEC 2/753 Roy Stokes, DC to PC 13-1-1949 and G. Howe, PC. Remarks by Chinsali Tour Report No. 5 of 1948.

<sup>2</sup>. A. D. Roberts, 1976, *A History of Zambia*, London: 215.

<sup>3</sup>. In 1949 the price of copper rose because of the devaluation of the pound sterling. As a consequence of the Korean War demand for copper sharply increased and between 1950 and 1956 the price of copper rose from £ 180 to £ 420 per long ton. Copper production was expanded and the value of minerals produced in the Territory increased from £ 13 million in 1950 to £ 95 million in 1956 [A. D. Roberts, 1976, *A History of Zambia*: 212].

Ilondola. Both societies reported 'good business' in 1947.<sup>1</sup> The setting up of cooperatives did not prove to be easy. The Shiwa Ng'andu Cooperative Society was liquidated in 1948, and Ilondola African Cooperative Society was unable to proceed. At the end of 1948 a new Chinsali African Traders Association was registered with the Registrar of Cooperative Societies.<sup>2</sup> In 1950 the Shiwa Ng'andu Cooperative Store was resuscitated, but it collapsed again two years later. The Chinsali African Traders Wholesale Cooperative Society was active in limited trading, but was liquidated in 1951. In 1950 a teacher of Ilondola had started an unregistered cooperative store. Two more cooperatives were planned in the same year.

The period under review seems to be one of dynamism and of new initiatives by Africans in farming and trading. There were several other initiatives by Africans in forming organisations apart from those mentioned above. Lubwa graduates founded Welfare Associations and the Chinsali branch of Congress. This will be discussed in the next section. A debating society was set up by Barak Ngo, the Jeanes Supervisor, in 1948 in Nkula's village.<sup>3</sup> 'Better Living Societies' were formed at the headquarters of two Native Authorities in the district in the same year.<sup>4</sup> The Chinsali Recreation Hall Committee was an offshoot of the Chinsali Welfare Committee.<sup>5</sup> In 1953 Chinsali had a Chinsali Social Club, which was the local branch of the Northern Rhodesian African Civil Servants Association, and a branch of the African Teachers' Association.<sup>6</sup> The cooperative movement and the setting up of a good number of other organisations in the district in the post-war period had political overtones. It was a joint effort to escape from control of European-dominated institutions, whether schools, missions, businesses, mines or Government.

<sup>1</sup>. ARNA, 1947: 23.

<sup>2</sup>. RHL 971 Chinsali Annual Report, 1948.

<sup>3</sup>. NAZ SEC 2/753 Tour Report No. 3/1948, R. E. P. Pinguet, Cadet.

<sup>4</sup>. ARNA, 1948: 30.

<sup>5</sup>. RHL Mss. Afr. s. 971 Chinsali Annual Report, 1948.

<sup>6</sup>. ARNA, 1953: 34.

### 11. Political development

In 1947 the Provincial Commissioner of Northern Province, G. Howe, observed that there were now African Welfare Associations at all district headquarters and at a few other centres in the province, but that their discussions were 'usually more of a political than of a welfare nature.' During that year several such associations also came into being in the outlying areas of the province, a sign of increased political awareness.<sup>1</sup> It is not clear in what year the Chinsali Welfare Association was formed, but probably after the war. It was firmly established by 1948. The Chairman of the Chinsali Welfare Association was then Daniel Besa, the Synod Evangelist of Lubwa. Other members were: Thom Sabi, the Jeanes Supervisor, Reuben C. Mulenga, Moses K. Mumba, John Singoyi, Robert Makasa and Kenneth Kaunda. The Chinsali Welfare Association was affiliated to the Federation of African Welfare Associations.<sup>2</sup> Stewart Gore-Browne of Shiwa Ng'andu, who had been elected member of the Legislative Council in 1935, showed his interest in this type of political development of Africans by occasionally attending meetings of the Chinsali Welfare Association.<sup>3</sup> Shiwa Ng'andu had its own Welfare Association, which held monthly meetings with the District Commissioner present. On 21 April 1950 the Secretary for Native Affairs paid an official visit to Chinsali. The Chinsali Welfare Association used this occasion to express to him some of its concerns. It requested: 'homecraft' (sc. handcraft) courses, vocational training courses and the right to have more than one shotgun per person.<sup>4</sup> Worry was expressed about the flow of European settlers coming into the country.<sup>5</sup> All these issues except the last were of a 'welfare' nature.

Government efforts to control African political development were

<sup>1</sup> ARNA, 1947: 29.

<sup>2</sup> Kapasa Makasa, 1981, *March*: 20.

<sup>3</sup> RHL Annual Report Chinsali, 1948, and Kapasa Makasa, 1981, *March*: 20.

<sup>4</sup> The Chinsali Annual Report for 1948 expressed worry about the increase in the number of muzzle-loading guns and shot-guns since the end of the war, and the disappearance of hunting game as a consequence of this (RHL Chinsali Annual Report, 1948). Paul Mushindo was also the proud owner of a shotgun, which he bought in 1948 for £ 6 from the 'pension' of £ 10 he got from Rev. MacMinn, who then lived in Glasgow (Paul Mushindo, 1973, *The Life*: 48).

<sup>5</sup> Kapasa Makasa, 1981, *March*: 21.



not really successful. It tried to meet African ambitions by 'modernizing' the traditional system of government through chiefs and councillors. The new colonial policy of Britain in the post war years generally meant more government. Traditional authorities and councils were given more responsibilities, not only in their existing area of jurisdiction, but also in the area of education, health, agriculture and the collecting of taxes. The system of administration with the help of chiefs had to be made more efficient by bringing in non-traditional representatives in the Tribal Councils. In 1948 a re-organization of the Native Authorities of Northern Province was proposed. The Superior Native Authority, i. e. the Paramount Chief and Council, would be strengthened by the inclusion of all subordinate chiefs. These would replace the traditional councillors, with the exception of some hereditary councillors. 'Ministers' with the responsibility for specific aspects of the work of the renovated Native Authority would also be appointed. Welfare Associations and similar bodies could elect one representative for each district as a part-time councillor of the Superior Native Authority.<sup>1</sup> The Bemba Tribal Council meeting had a Tribal Councillor ('Minister') for education, who took his job so seriously that he had already paid an inspection visit to all schools in Chinsali District in 1949. Some schools were even visited twice.<sup>2</sup> Chief Nkula had an itinerant health orderly, Taddeo Mungulube, who carried out a thorough investigation of every village visited,<sup>3</sup> an education kapasu (messenger), Nelson Kangwa, and an agricultural kapasu, Daimon Chimfembe. These last two had a St. 5 education.<sup>4</sup> Chiefs had to be trained and 'modern.' Already as early as 1938 the Bisa treasuries provided funds for the education of possible heirs of chiefs and other members of the tribe.<sup>5</sup> Two who benefitted from these bursaries in 1938 were Robert Speedwell Makasa (Kapasa Makasa) who

<sup>1</sup>. NAZ SEC 2/182 Proposals for Northern Province, 31-5 to 4-6-1948.

<sup>2</sup>. ARNA, 1949: 30.

<sup>3</sup>. NAZ SEC 2/758 Tour Report No. 11 of 1953: Nkula, J. W. Robb.

<sup>4</sup>. NAZ SEC 2/758 Tour Report No. 10 of 1953. It is not possible to find out whether these were trained at Lubwa, nor in how far Lubwa graduates were attracted by the opportunities offered by the expanded and renovated system of indirect rule in the district. There do not seem to have been for Chinsali District parallels to Donald Siwale of Mwenzo, who accepted a position as adviser to Chieftainness Waitwika in this period.

<sup>5</sup>. ARNE, 1938 D. S. Miller, SNE, Northern Province: 42.

was a nephew of Chief Musanya, and John Malama Sokoni, who was related to Chief Chibesakunda. Both were given the opportunity to study at Lubwa Training School.<sup>1</sup> Ruling chiefs were trained in modern government in a two-months' course at the Jeanes School in Chalimbana, where Maxwell Robertson, formerly of Lubwa, was Principal. Subjects taught included: 'better villages' (hygiene, pit latrines, clean water supply, planning of a village), elementary history and geography of Northern Rhodesia, and first lessons in accounting. During the course heads of department from nearby Lusaka paid the chiefs a visit. The chiefs went on a tour to the Copperbelt and other urban areas. During the course the wives of the chiefs attended a women's school, in true Lubwa style, where lessons in child welfare, patching and mending, sewing and cooking were given.<sup>2</sup>

Africans, many of them trained and employed at Lubwa, began to take the initiative in political development by forming 'the Chinsali Branch of the Northern Rhodesia African Congress.'<sup>3</sup> On 7 March 1950, a meeting at Lubwa had taken place in one of the classrooms of the big hall of Lubwa Training School to form this body. The Chairman was Robert Makasa, Vice-Chairman: Reuben Mulenga, Secretary: Kenneth Kaunda. Other members were: Eneyah Mumba, S. M. Sula, J. D. Mpuku, Rev. I. M. Mutubila, Daniel Besa, K. M. Kanyimbo, T. M. Sabi, and M. Sokoni. Trustees were: J. D. Bella and I. C. Chabala. The address: Congress, Chinsali Branch, Lubwa Training School, P. O. Chinsali. The subscription fee was: £ 1.5 s.<sup>4</sup> Almost all these men had a close connection with Lubwa Mission or with Lubwa Church: Robert Makasa was a mission teacher and church elder, Reuben Mulenga was an evangelist, Kenneth Kaunda had been in the service of the mission since he had come back from Munali in 1943; he had also been a deacon of the Church. E. Mumba was church elder, S. M. Sula was the bursar of

<sup>1</sup>. Kapasa Makasa, 1981, *March*: 5.

<sup>2</sup>. D. Maxwell Robertson MBE, 1949, 'Training Chiefs in Northern Rhodesia', in: *Corona*: 18-20.

<sup>3</sup>. Kenneth Kaunda (1962, *Zambia Shall Be Free*, London: 40) states that he contacted the General Secretary of the Northern Rhodesia Congress to open a branch of Congress in Chinsali in late 1949.

<sup>4</sup>. Kapasa Makasa, 1981, *March*: 28.

the mission, J. D. Mpuku secretary of the School Management Committee, Daniel Besa the Synod Evangelist, while Rev. Isaac Mfula Mutubila was the pastor of Lubwa Church. T. Sabi was a Lubwa trained Jeanes teacher and school inspector in the employment of the government. Malami Sokoni had received his St. 5 at Lubwa and had returned to the district to begin his co-operative farm at Kamangu. The Welfare Association continued to function beside the new political formation. Several had membership in both (see Appendix II). The difference between the two was that Congress refused to be an 'arm of colonial administration, under control and direction of the DC.'<sup>1</sup> The Welfare Associations gradually also became political bodies, expressing political demands, asking for a share in political decision-making, and for more rights for the African population. Because of this Government became less ready to give them some form of recognition. The Provincial Commissioner of Northern Province at least asked himself whether 'further efforts should be made to keep them (the Welfare Associations) alive.'<sup>2</sup>

The major political issue about which Congress articulated popular feelings and tried to raise awareness in Northern Province was the planned amalgamation or Federation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia. There was a general fear that European settlers would arrive in great numbers, which would lead to a subsequent loss of landrights for the Africans, even though land was still abundant and the Northern Province did not seem to be very attractive for settlers. Some of this fear was based on a previous change in section 5 (1) of the Native Trust Land Order-in-Council of 1947 which enabled Europeans to acquire land in African areas. A further Order-in-Council issued in 1951 allowed corporations to use Native Trust Land.<sup>3</sup> By 1948 the land issue was already hotly debated among some Africans in the district. The touring priest of Mulilansolo, Fr. Oelgemüller, was told at Kafwimbi in that year that Africans had their own governments before the arrival of the

<sup>1</sup>. Kapasa Makasa, 1981, *March*: 26.

<sup>2</sup>. ARNA, 1950: 32.

<sup>3</sup>. Kapasa Makasa, 1981, *March*: 143, 146; M. P. Mvunga, 1980, *The Colonial Foundations of Zambia's Land Tenure System*, Lusaka: 34-5.

Europeans and that 'all land belonged by God's law to the Africans and their chiefs; Europeans were real thieves.'<sup>1</sup> Jomo Kenyatta, Nkrumah, and Azikiwe, along with Gandhi and Nehru who had achieved Indian independence from Britain in 1947, became admired as heroes.<sup>2</sup> In Chinsali, Congress tried to reach the rural people through existing organisations like social clubs, but especially through the network build up by Lubwa of church and schools. After the founding of the Chinsali branch of Congress efforts were made to open up more branches in the district at central schools and at chief's headquarters.

The Church proved to be an excellent recruiting ground. Robert Makasa had been elected church elder in 1948, although he was then only 24 years old. He was often asked to lead a church service. After the service political issues were discussed.<sup>3</sup> Lubwa had already more or less integrated the school and the church, the secular and the religious. Now these two became also linked up with politics. Party rallies usually started with prayers. It was stressed that the God of the missionaries, 'the kind of God the whites were talking about in Church,' was identical to the Creator God of the Bemba, Lesa, and that it was possible to be a nationalist and a Christian at the same time. Robert Makasa and other nationalists in the district developed the basic elements of an African theology, stressing the importance of the Old Testament in their exegesis, and linking it with an appeal for political action.<sup>4</sup> The cultural element

<sup>1</sup> WFA Muliansolo Diary: 11-7-1948.

<sup>2</sup> Kapasa Makasa, 1981, *March*: 27.

<sup>3</sup> Kapasa Makasa, 1981, *March*: 30-31.

<sup>4</sup> Kapasa Makasa, 1981, *March*: 40-1. Paul Mushindo, from 1950 the pastor at Lubwa, had been trained in the 'biblio-studicism' or fundamentalism of MacMinn. This could not possibly accommodate such views. On the other hand Mushindo had almost devoted his life to the spread and the putting in writing of Bemba culture and religion. Mushindo himself, although less outspoken, also combined Bemba chauvinism, African nationalism and orthodox Presbyterianism. The question whether Lesa can be identified with Jahweh or with the God whom Jesus calls His Father is a major issue in systematic theology. The dialectical theologian Karl Barth (1957, *Kirchliche Dogmatik. Auswahl und Einleitung von Helmut Gollwitzer*, Frankfurt: 38-39), writing in the 1930s and 1940s, was vehemently opposed to this idea. (Also: Karl Barth, 1936-1939, *Church Dogmatics*, Vols. I/1 to IV/4 (*Fragments*), Edinburgh and Karl Barth, 1933, *The Epistle to the Romans*, London). Hendrick Kraemer, the Dutch missionary who dominated the Tambaram meeting of the International Missionary Council in 1938, spoke about a 'fundamental discontinuity' of revelation in Christ to 'the whole range of human religion' (H. Kraemer, 1939, *Continuity or Discontinuity*, in: *The Authority of the Faith. Vol. I Tambaram Series*, London: 1-23). The position one takes on this issue has considerable influence on one's

was provided by the political songs composed by Kaunda, and sung by him while he accompanied himself on the guitar.<sup>1</sup> These songs had chiliastic overtones. Some issues on which the people in Chinsali were mobilized were distinct from the main issue of Federation: the role of the District Commissioner in the district government, the raw deal of ex-service men after the war, and the educational needs of the district.<sup>2</sup> Congress made political use of the general dissatisfaction of the rank-and-file veterans with their treatment by the Government after the war. Nevertheless we do not see veterans themselves participating in political activities against the Government. C. S. M. Shula, an askari with twelve years' military service was in 1952 elected as the Kabanda delegate to the Chinsali Welfare Association.<sup>3</sup> He seems to have been an exception. Moreover the Welfare Association co-operated with Government. The dissatisfied veterans provided vivid evidence of discrimination of Africans compared with Europeans, which made Government propaganda for racial partnership in the Federation ineffective.

On 17 August 1951 the Governor visited Chinsali. There was an address by the chiefs, but also one by Congress. Kenneth Kaunda and Robert Makasa had gone to the meeting bare-footed and dressed in traditional dress made from bark-cloth (*filundu*). They asked questions about the pending Federation of the two Rhodesias. This aroused the anger of the Governor, but also of John Nelson, Manager of Schools of Lubwa Mission, the employer of the two teachers. Kenneth Kaunda decided then to resign from teaching.<sup>4</sup> The African National Congress offered him the post of Provincial Organising Secretary of Northern Province (which included then present-day Luapula Province).<sup>5</sup> This was the beginning of a lifelong professional career in Zambian and international politics.

In January 1952 Congress clashed with Rev. Fergus

theology of mission and how one defines 'conversion'.

<sup>1</sup> Fergus Macpherson, 1974, *Kenneth Kaunda*: 111, and Kapasa Makasa, 1981, *March*: 32-3. Also Kapasa Makasa, interview, Chinsali, November 1978.

<sup>2</sup> Makasa, 1981: 31.

<sup>3</sup> NAZ SEC 2/757 No. 2 of 1952.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 165 on the background of his resignation.

<sup>5</sup> Kapasa Makasa, 1981, *March*: 37.

Macpherson, the new missionary-in-charge of Lubwa Mission. Congress accused him of discouraging people from participating in the activities of Congress. He had given the impression in a Sunday morning sermon that one should listen to pro-Federation arguments. According to Makasa the sermon was about a rich man who had a big farm; some people wanted to run around the farm but before they finished they were tired and died. The farm was the Federation and the people running around the farm members of Congress.<sup>1</sup> According to Macpherson the sermon was about the voice of the Son of Man. Many voices are calling. These voices have to be tested. There is the voice of Congress, the voice of Welensky...<sup>2</sup> In any case there was a massive walk-out of the church and a tumult broke out. People gathered outside the church-building and the sermon was discussed with the preacher up to 1 pm.<sup>3</sup> Kenneth Kaunda as Secretary of the Chinsali Branch of Congress protested in a long and well-written letter. Macpherson had attacked the national work of ANC and had on 16 March 1952 preached the preservation of his race and 'the deterioration of the African Nation.' He was also castigated for not allowing political meetings at Lubwa. G. B. Shaw was quoted to attack the type of mission Christianity rejected by Congress. This was a Christianity that would ally itself with colonialism: 'When he wants a market for his adulterated Manchester goods he sends a Missionary: the natives kill the Missionary; he flies to arms in defence of Christianity; fights for it, conquers for it; and takes his market as a reward from heaven.'<sup>4</sup> Kaunda stressed in the letter that Congress was not fighting against the British government, but against the Federal case. He also offered to cooperate with 'all the bodies like the Government, Native Authorities, Mission Societies, the African Representative Council etc. interested and concerned in advancing the African educationally,

<sup>1</sup> Kapasa Makasa, interview, Chinsali, November 1978; Kapasa Makasa, 1981, *March*: 40.

<sup>2</sup> Fergus Macpherson, interview, Kilbirnie, 12 and 13-1-1981.

<sup>3</sup> Kapasa Makasa, interview, Chinsali, November 1978.

<sup>4</sup> K. Kaunda, letter to Rev. F. MacPherson [sic], Lubwa Mission, Chinsali, 25-3-1952, citing Shaw, *Man of Destiny*, in: *Plays pleasant and unpleasant*, 1908, Constable: 201 (see Fergus Macpherson, 1974, *Kenneth Kaunda*: 127, note 23). The letter was in the possession of M. A. Khunga, Headmaster Kenneth Kaunda Secondary School, Chinsali, 1978.

economically, politically and socially.<sup>1</sup>

On 2 June 1953 the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II was celebrated all over the British Commonwealth and Empire. This provided the local branch of Congress in Chinsali again an opportunity to show its strength. It organized a special Task Force called the UM, the 'Underground Movement' to discourage participation in the festivities. On the day of the celebrations a special self help project was carried out: the carrying of bricks to the maternity wing of Lubwa Hospital.<sup>2</sup> The Secretary of the School Management Committee, Yonam Mpuku, decided to send all village schools to the celebrations at the boma.<sup>3</sup> Memorial medals were distributed free of charge to the pupils, who disfigured them. Sweets and cakes were refused or thrown away. The festivities included the ceremonial planting of a Coronation Tree, a Mulombwa tree. Helen Kaunda, the sister of Chief Nkula Bwembya, a schoolgirl Elizabeth Mulenga and the wife of the Lubwa teacher R. C. Mulenga were asked to do this, but all refused. A labourer from the Forestry Department finally had to do the job, but he was stoned by the people. Three successive trees planted were uprooted or destroyed. Finally a tree was planted in secret in a different place.<sup>4</sup> Chief Chitimukulu Musungu was called in to restore order. He fined a number of people who had participated in the action. One person, Chimuna was jailed for six months. Masandiko's village was removed and placed away from the boma.<sup>5</sup> The school children, influenced by the propaganda of Congress sang at the boma a

<sup>1</sup> Kenneth Kaunda, in letter to Rev. F. Macpherson, 25-3-1952. The open way in which political matters could be discussed by members of Lubwa Church contrasts strongly with the practice in other churches at that time. The combination of political activities and church membership seems to have been never at issue. Mushindo could join the African Provincial Council of Northern Province in 1944; members of the Welfare Association and Congress could still be elected as church elders. The Dutch Reformed Mission Church in Eastern Province allowed the combination of church membership and political activities officially only in 1957! (Gerdien Verstraelen-Gilhuis, 1982, *From Dutch Mission Church*: 274)

<sup>2</sup> Kapasa Makasa, 1981, *March*: 38.

<sup>3</sup> Fergus Macpherson, interview, Kilbirnie, 12-1-1981.

<sup>4</sup> Kapasa Makasa, interview, Chinsali, November 1978, and Kapasa Makasa, 1981, *March*: 38-39. The tree planted 'in secret' at the boma, away from the original place was uprooted in 1974! (Makasa, 1981: 40). The Coronation tree was replaced by a concrete monument, which was destroyed at Independence and replaced by a small independence monument.

<sup>5</sup> Kapasa Makasa, 1981, *March*: 39.

fairly popular song of the time: '*Chabulanda, chabulanda, Basungu bapoke chalo chesu*' - 'It is sad, it is sad, the Europeans have taken our country.'<sup>1</sup> This song was considered 'insulting the Queen's majesty' and the Provincial Education Officer demanded punitive action against the teachers concerned. He also threatened to reduce Lubwa's African educational vote.<sup>2</sup> These political boycotts and protests organized by the Chinsali branch of the African National Congress even led to a question in the House of Lords by Lord Noel-Buxton, who saw the events as a failure of the Department of African Education to control teachers and pupils.<sup>3</sup>

The White Fathers of Ilondola had not sent their pupils. They did not consider the displays 'any special' and were annoyed that 'a very dubious song' had been sung in public.<sup>4</sup> The Roman Catholic missionaries preferred to maintain 'a neutral position,' staying outside the 'bickerings' (*tiraillements*), although if needed they claimed to come in defense of natives 'against injustice and lack of Christian charity.'<sup>5</sup> Early in 1953 an article appeared in the *African Eagle*, written by a teacher from the Upper School of Ilondola which claimed that all the schoolboys were members of Congress. In March 1953 the District Commissioner made an investigation to find out how many pupils were members of Congress. Only four boys out of one hundred proved to be members.<sup>6</sup> Some pupils may have hidden their membership, though Congress was then not an illegal organisation. It remains however true that almost all the leading figures in the political campaigns had a strong connection with Lubwa. One reason why the Roman Catholics did not want to get involved in the political activities of Congress may have been because it

<sup>1</sup> F. Macpherson, 1973, *Kenneth Kaunda*: 123.

<sup>2</sup> F. Macpherson, 1973: 203.

<sup>3</sup> *East Africa and Rhodesia*, 16-7-1953, in: F. Macpherson, 1973: 123. In Eastern Province in the area of the Dutch Reformed Mission there were no problems at all at Coronation Day (G. Verstraelen-Gilhuis, 1982, *From Dutch Mission Church*: 273). The Roman Catholic Missions in Southern Nyasaland were enthusiastically supporting the celebrations and even took over the small flags refused by the CCAP schools (letter from Prof. M. Schoffeleers to author, 28-6-1987).

<sup>4</sup> WFA Ilondola Diary, 2-6-1953.

<sup>5</sup> WFA 521 163 Ilondola Annual Report, 1952-1953.

<sup>6</sup> WFA Ilondola Diary, 12-3-1953.



was so much dominated by people from Lubwa. There could well have been in addition a difference in theology, and a different attitude to education, with more stress on obedience and authority. The neutral attitude of the White Fathers contrasted strongly with the active political involvement of the Church of Scotland in the discussions about Federation. The 1952 General Assembly of the Church of Scotland expressed concern about the Federation proposals and urged 'that full consideration be given to African opinion and that no scheme should be adopted without the consent and co-operation of the Africans.'<sup>1</sup>

Congress was very successful in Northern Province. Of the 75 branches in 1952 24 (32 %) were in Northern Province.<sup>2</sup> This was largely the work of Kenneth Kaunda who was appointed organizing secretary for the Northern Province in April 1952. He served in this position till his appointment as Secretary-General of the African National Congress in August 1953.<sup>3</sup> It was the young well-educated teachers of Lubwa who took the lead in the political mobilization. The first-generation educational elite, had given their support to the young radicals, but had themselves chosen to stay somewhat apart from direct action. Some still had confidence in the representative bodies established by the Government: the Provincial Councils and the African Representative Council. Paul Mushindo, for instance, had joined the African Provincial Council (APC) of Northern Province in 1944, immediately when it was established. He was an executive member of the Chinsali Welfare Association, but also a member of the Chinsali Branch of Congress. In 1949 he was elected to represent the APC in the African Representative Council (ARC) in Lusaka. Here Mushindo expressed his opposition to

<sup>1</sup>. *Report to the General Assembly, FMC, 1953*, citing the Supplementary Report of the Committee on Church and Nation, May 1953: 361.

<sup>2</sup>. L. H. Gann, 1964, *A History*: 424, in D. C. Mulford, 1967, *Zambia. The Politics of Independence*, London: 23. Luapula was part of Western Province from 1 July 1947; Western Province (including Luapula) had 11 branches in 1952. In 1953 Luapula Province was rejoined with Northern Province because of 'fish conservation and political unrest' (ARNA, 1953: 29).

<sup>3</sup>. Kenneth Kaunda, 1962, *Zambia Shall Be Free*: 51-52. He mentions as sources for inspiration for his politization of the rural areas of Northern Province the life of Abraham Lincoln, literature on the Indian struggle for Independence and Ralph Waldo Trine, *In Tune With the Infinite*. One could see that with this choice of his favourite books Kenneth Kaunda tried to link political involvement with a liberal Christianity.

Federation. He supported a motion of Donald Siwale: 'no scheme of federation or amalgamation yet produced has provided grounds for satisfying the legitimate aspirations of the African people.' According to Mushindo Federation was 'the same as amalgamation and responsible government. The Europeans settlers are trying to stop the African from advancement of their race.'<sup>1</sup>

## 12. Conclusion

The period 1939-1953 was a turbulent period for Lubwa and for Chinsali District. Many young men took the opportunity to widen their horizons and joined the army. They were also attracted by promises of privileged treatment after the war. The war propaganda stated that the Allied case was a just one because it fought against racialism, dictatorship, and for national self determination. This could have played a role in the raising of political consciousness in the district after the war. There is however little evidence of war veterans taking initiatives in the establishing of welfare associations or of Congress, despite their disappointment about the way they were treated after the war, by comparison with their European comrades-in-arms. After the war there was increased government administration, an extension of the Government and government services, into areas hitherto served only by the missions like education, agricultural development, health care and social development. The society envisaged by the colonial developers was similar to the one envisaged by missionaries in the 1920s, who then argued for an African society basically rural, without many resources, without independent ways of political expression, village life still dominated by the traditional authorities, by the chiefs and traditional councillors. The linchpin of political and social development as envisaged by the colonial government after the war was to be the chiefs, who had to be trained and enlightened. These found themselves, however, soon between hammer and anvil where they had to choose between continued collaboration with Government with the consequence of alienating important and vocal

<sup>1</sup>. *Proceedings of the first Session of the Second Council, African Representative Council, Northern Rhodesia, No. 4, Lusaka, 1949 (13-16 July 1949): 187-8.*

groups of fellow Africans, or joining the protests against Government organized by Congress and risking the wrath of Government and suspension or removal from office. Chief Chitimukulu found himself faced with this dilemma when he was asked by Government to condemn the activities of Congress which led to a disruption of the Coronation celebrations in Chinsali in 1953.

The Church was faced with a similar dilemma. Kenneth Kaunda as secretary of the Chinsali Branch of Congress expressed at times his vision of one united Church, that was politically active, that was pro-Congress, and independent from the scriptural exegesis of the European missionaries. Congress clashed several times with the missionaries of Lubwa Mission who did not seem in the view of the leaders of Congress to support the African case strongly enough. Several people had leading positions in the Chinsali Welfare Association, and in the Chinsali Branch of Northern Rhodesia Congress, as well as in the Kirk Session and the Lubwa Station Committee. The young well-educated graduates of Lubwa, products of the enlightened system of education which Maxwell Robertson had introduced in the 1930s, played a leading role in the mobilization of the district and the province against Federation. It is striking that these young men were not lost for the district, because of labour migration, but continued to come back to their 'roots' after a short stay away from the district. These were also the people who were in the forefront with experiments with the co-operative idea in farming and retailing. Apparently the idea of rural development based on increased agricultural productivity, preached so often by Lubwa Mission in the 1930s, had found willing ears with these young men. Lack of support from the Government and possibly also insecurity about the future with the pending introduction of Federation were reasons for the ultimate failure of these experiments in agricultural development. In any case the young men must soon have spent more of their time on politics than on their farms.

The Roman Catholics seemed to have remained aloof from the political turmoil. The White Fathers, mainly of French, German and Dutch origin, were much less emotionally involved with the idea of

British colonial development, than for instance Macpherson or other Scots of Lubwa, who had the backing of their church for their political stand. Congress does not seem to have been very effective in mobilizing Roman Catholics, because in political mobilization Congress initially used the educational and religious network of Lubwa.

By 1953 Congress, then renamed the African National Congress or ANC, had achieved some successes. The authority of the missionaries had been eroded, just like that of the District Commissioner and his staff, and also that of the chiefs in so far as they were seen collaborating with the Government. ANC was not yet strong enough to fill this power vacuum. It was also seen to have suffered defeat as Federation had nonetheless been introduced. Some leading members of ANC like Kenneth Kaunda and Robert Makasa left the district becoming involved full-time in the politics of the ANC in Lusaka and Kasama respectively. There was a gap between the ideas of the young radicals of Lubwa and the older generation of African leaders in the church and the schools. The latter preferred to work at least for the time being within the structures provided by Government for African representation like the African representative councils. With the departure of the young radicals the older generation regained some of their former influence.

The period 1939-1953 saw considerable changes in the policy of evangelization and mission of Lubwa. The road was prepared for the withdrawal from education and health services and a concentration on purely evangelistic work. The White Fathers on the other hand extended their involvement in village education. They also experimented with the introduction of better trained catechists presumably to provide a layer between the priests and the mass of lay people. From the 1950s onwards the Jehovah's Witnesses became another religious force besides Presbyterianism and Roman Catholicism. New forms of manifestations of traditional beliefs came out into the open in the fear for the *banyama*, who were believed to be in association with the Europeans, in *ngulu* possessions, and in activities against people suspected of being wizards or witches. The appeal of Congress to the population had some chiliastic and millennarian overtones. Effective use was made of some concepts of

traditional beliefs. The concept of secularization could possibly help to explain some of these phenomena.<sup>1</sup> Secularization can be defined as the process of separation between society and religion. Religion is pushed back to the personal sphere. The process culminates in a religion which deals purely with the inner life, and which does not try to influence the institutions of society at large. Institutional secularization is the process whereby the 'secular' state gradually takes over the educational and caring functions of the Church. Intellectual secularization is the effort to create an autonomous sphere of knowledge purified from supernatural, religious presuppositions.<sup>2</sup>

The White Fathers had a largely unsecularized model of the Church. Theirs was the 'Clovis model' of conversion. Their aim was still to make the Roman Catholic Church the Established Church of the Bemba. In our period the White Fathers continued to develop their school system to serve their Church, trying to cover as many villages as possible. Their lack of interest in developing a health system is noteworthy. As Dr Brown already had observed, health services are of limited use in serving the aim of evangelization. The Roman Catholic Church in Chinsali District remained in this period primarily an instrument of individual salvation through prayers and sacraments, supported by a network of schools. Efforts were made to incorporate traditional authorities into the Church. Conflicts with the colonial Government were avoided and the political issues introduced by Congress ignored. It was a paternalistic model, where the training of priest and nuns was given priority. Catechists were given a more advanced training. Although they were called the 'right hand' or even the 'voice' of the priest; they remained only part-time workers, who received

<sup>1</sup>. I am indebted to Fr. J-L. Calmettes M. Sc. for suggesting this to me. Fr. Calmettes spent most of his active life as a priest in Chinsali District. At this moment he is Secretary for Social Development of the Zambia Episcopal Conference. He wrote several important studies of the Lumpa Church.

<sup>2</sup>. Larry Shiner, 1967, 'The Concept of Secularization in Empirical Research', in: *J. for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 6: 207-220; Dutch translation in: K. Dobbelaere en L. Laeyendecker, 1974, *Godsdienst, Kerk en Samenleving. Godsdienstsociologische Opstellen*, Rotterdam/Antwerpen: 252 ff. See also B. R. Wilson, 1966, 'Conclusion, Religion in Secular Society', Watts: 221-233, in: R. Robertson (ed.), 1969, *Sociology of Religion*, Harmondsworth: 152-162.

an allowance instead of a full salary. There was no stress on the advancement of women. Each mission station had a boarding school for girls, but this could be seen as to serve mainly the aim of the training of nuns.

The Jehovah's Witnesses then 'solved' the problem posed by the secularisation process by denying the secular state the right to existence, and by the end of our period also by boycotting or rather ignoring education offered by Government or by missions through government grant-in-aids. Lubwa Mission had already accepted intellectual secularisation in the 1930s: the scientific worldview, training in hygiene, the provision of modern medicine aimed to eliminate 'agelong superstition.' Lubwa missionaries, with their Free Church background, had experience of working with a Church which did not aspire to become an Established Church, but which functions as a denomination among other denominations. Lubwa was therefore increasingly prepared to accept also institutional secularization by handing over its educational and health activities to Government. Until the 1950s however the Government did not see itself in a purely secular role in its relationship with the African population of Northern Rhodesia. In the opinion of the Government Africans needed the guidance of Christian missions in their transition from a traditional to a modern society. This explains why the Government preferred to provide African education by giving large grants-in-aid to Christian missions. The addresses of various Governors to the General Missionary Conferences give additional support to this view.<sup>1</sup>

On the one hand we see Lubwa beginning to draw back in a religion of a purely inner nature. In 1948 a missionary, Kenneth MacKenzie, was appointed who was for the first time since 1932 available full time for evangelistic work. On the other hand we also see

<sup>1</sup>. In 1939 the Governor, Sir John Maybin, told missionaries about 'the great value which this Government places on the work of the missions, not only in spiritual but also in material matters.' He welcomed 'the fullest assistance of the missions.' In 1944 his successor, E.J. Waddington, stressed the same point by saying that '(m)ankind requires for its spiritual welfare a wider acceptance of Christian teaching... [A] co-ordination of effort by all Christian peoples offers the only hope of a permanent world peace' (*Report of the Proceedings of the 8th GMC 1939*, and *Report of the Proceedings of the 9th GMC, 1944*: 17, IMC/CBMS, Box 1211, IDC mf.40).

the ecumenical approach of missionaries like Cato and Nelson who tried to form a Christian elite, which was active in secular structures. Christians in the ecumenical view have a calling in this world, a commitment to justice. This ecumenical model of the Church offers again a holistic view of the relationship between church and society. This view was also expressed by Dr Brown in 1947, a few months before his death, where he advocated 'the integration of medicine, education and agriculture by Christian forces,' not to save souls, but 'to attack the health conditions of the rural areas.'

The traditional religious structure was undifferentiated. The chief had political, economic, religious and judicial functions. All facets of life were saturated by religious presuppositions and religious rituals: family relations, the organisation of village life, marriage, sexual relations, farming, hunting, war. Secularism (the ideology which tries to deny religious institutions and convictions a leading role in society)<sup>1</sup> was introduced by Lubwa Mission through the modern education it offered. It advocated the '*Entzauberung*' of the world. One area where Lubwa was unsuccessful in its teachings was that of the belief in the power of witchcraft. The secular, scientific explanation of illness and disease was by and large not accepted by Lubwa students. The educated elite of Lubwa became an alternative, if not an opposite force to the power of the chiefs. In the period under review the 'angry young men' of Lubwa tried to reunite the secular and the religious when they sought to provide an alternative for the Europocentric mission Christianity, when they stressed the continuity between traditional religion and Christianity, when they used church structures to mobilize the people, when they appealed to folk beliefs to express opposition to Federation, and when prayers were conducted at the beginnings of party meetings.

<sup>1</sup>. Larry Shiner, 1967, 'The Concept of Secularization': 261.

CHAPTER FOUR

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‘ABOVE  
EVERYTHING’

1953-1967



## 1. Introduction

In 1953 several of the articulate young men who in the previous period had brought a spirit of dynamism and innovation to Lubwa left the district and also, in some cases, the Presbyterian Church. Kenneth Kaunda moved to Chilenje, Lusaka, where he became Secretary General of ANC. Here he joined the Ebenezer African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME). He became a member of the Official Board, sang in the church choir and had some of his children baptized in the church.<sup>1</sup> Robert Makasa went to Kasama as Northern Province Provincial Organizer of ANC. He also joined the AME and became a local preacher.<sup>2</sup> Simon Kapwepwe had left for India in 1951 and did not return to Northern Province until January 1955. John Sokoni was elected member of the African Representative Council. He joined Makasa in Kasama where he functioned as Provincial Secretary and Treasurer of the ANC.<sup>3</sup> With the departure of the 'angry young men', Lubwa Church soon began to give the impression of 'backwardness'.<sup>4</sup>

The group of evangelists and catechists employed by the mission for evangelistic work remained in the district. Among them were Reuben Nkashi, Yotam Lulembo, Ben Ng'ona, Simon Sampa, Abraham Mwanamwenya, Thomas Nkamba and Moses Musonda. Several had served Lubwa for decades. Some had been members of the first kirk-session, established by MacMinn in 1925. The teachers Thom Sabi, Reuben Mulenga and Yonam Mpuku and the medical assistants Jolson Bwali and Abel Nkamba became leading personalities in Lubwa Church in this period. From October 1950 Paul Mushindo was minister-in-charge of Lubwa District Church. Mushindo's theology could be characterized as fundamentalist. In this respect he followed the theology of MacMinn, whom he had assisted in the translation of the Bible in

<sup>1</sup>. He left this church in 1957 after the Presiding Elder had complained that some people were using the AME as a platform for political purposes (Walter R. Johnson, 1977, *Worship and Freedom. A Black American Church in Zambia*, London: 32).

<sup>2</sup>. Walter Johnson, 1977, *Worship*: 32.

<sup>3</sup>. Kapasa Makasa, 1981, *March*: 59.

<sup>4</sup>. Rev. W. V. Stone, Kilmacolm, Scotland, in a letter to author, 9-5-1988.

ChiBemba since 1921.<sup>1</sup> However, with regard to traditional religion Mushindo represented a liberal theological point of view. In his autobiography Mushindo expressed his conviction that before the advent of Christianity there was not 'a deep darkness,' but that the Africans 'worshipped God through their spirits,' and that 'they knew right and wrong and ... believed in the life hereafter.'<sup>2</sup> As an African church leader and as a custodian of Bemba traditions he was much respected, but politically he was more moderate than Kenneth Kaunda, Kapwepwe or Makasa.

## 2. Lubwa in the years 1953-1955

There was a high turnover of the European mission staff of Lubwa in this period. This contrasts with the long period of service of previous missionaries-in-charge. Kenneth MacKenzie left Lubwa for Chitambo in 1951 to serve as Education Secretary, and John and Elizabeth Nelson left Lubwa Training School in December 1953 to join the staff of Munali Secondary School. Yonam Mpuku became Principal of the Lubwa Training School.<sup>3</sup> Fergus Macpherson, who had come to Lubwa for bible translation work in October 1951, left in November 1954 for home leave. On return in 1955 he was transferred to Mwenzo, but in December 1956 he became principal of the Overtoun Institution in Nyasaland. Rev. John Fraser succeeded him as missionary-in-charge at Lubwa in 1955. Late 1956 Dr David Wilson replaced him as missionary-in-charge, though Fraser remained at Lubwa as missionary till 1959. Dr David Wilson stayed longest. He came in 1952 to replace John Todd, and stayed for eight years as a medical doctor in Lubwa Hospital, serving as missionary-in-charge from December 1956 till June 1959. The high turnover of European staff in this period could have led to an increased

<sup>1</sup>. Fergus Macpherson, 1973, 'A Note on Paul Mushindo', in: Paul Mushindo, 1973, *The Life*: xx and xxiv.

<sup>2</sup>. Paul Mushindo, 1973, *The Life*: 52. He expressed these ideas in his *Ulubuto mu miffi*, Light through darkness (Kitwe, 1964). The book was published by the Dutch Reformed Church.

<sup>3</sup>. Yonam Mpuku had been headteacher of Lubwa Junior School, before his appointment as Principal of the LTS. He later attended the South African Agricultural College. He married a daughter of Tomas Sabi (Mrs. E. Nelson, Worcester in letter to author, 10-8-1987).

influence of the African staff in the running of the church and the mission. A Station Management Committee, with a majority of African members, functioned between 1950 and 1952. This took over some of the management responsibilities hitherto executed by the European missionaries. Mushindo was a member of this committee, and also Moderator of the District Church Council (DCC). He could have taken up a leadership role for himself, but his role was not one of overt leadership. His major interest was the translation of the Bible and other linguistic and literary work.<sup>1</sup>

Key figures in the District Church Council in this period were the Moderator, Rev. Paul Mushindo; the Clerk, Abel Nkamba, a teacher; and the Treasurer, Reuben Mulenga, also a teacher. Daniel Besa had withdrawn to the background since his retirement as Synod Evangelist in 1951. The church elders who were sent in 1953 to the Presbytery of the CCAR as delegates of Lubwa DCC were: Yonam Mpuku, teacher of Lubwa Training School, and Moses Musonda, evangelist. In 1954 Lubwa delegates were: Geoffrey Bwali, catechist, Peon Bwali, catechist and Barnaba Mutale. In 1955 these were Rev. Mushindo, Rev. Noah Chulu, Yonam Mpuku and Reuben Mulenga, with Simon Sampa and Thomas Nkamba as alternates. The church council gave the authority to administer sacraments in 1953 to the evangelist Noah Chulu, who served in Kasama as a probationer and who was ordained a minister the following year. In 1954 the church council gave this authority to the evangelists Barnaba Lundu, Reuben Nkashi and Moses Musonda, and in 1955 to the evangelists Moses Musonda and Reuben Nkashi.<sup>2</sup> Evangelists and teachers, all male, who were in paid employment by the mission, dominated in Lubwa Church and in the church council.

At the beginning of 1954 Lubwa experienced a sudden increase in communicants. This could well be because of the success of the preaching activities of Alice Mulenga. She had a vision of Jesus in September 1953 and was soon engaged by mission and Church to tell

<sup>1</sup>. WM Report on Lubwa Campaign, Oct. 1955, and Paul Mushindo, 1973, *The Life*: 25-27.

<sup>2</sup>. *Minutes of Presbytery, 1953* and *Minutes of Presbytery, 1954*; NAZ HM 28 UN 1/5 for 1955.

the district about her experience. The success of her evangelistic work for Lubwa could also explain the increased number of adult baptisms in 1954 and the increase in local church contributions (£ 255 in 1954, against £ 122 in 1953). Ilondola had in 1953 5,915 baptized members and 1,694 catechumens.<sup>1</sup> One should also add the figures for Mulilansolo and Mulanga to get the number of Roman Catholics in Chinsali District. This would give a total of almost 10,000 Catholics. This figure is well above the figure Lubwa gave for its 'total Christian community' in 1954 when Lubwa Church was at its height in absolute figures. When taking into consideration the fact that Roman Catholics counted baptised children as 'members', which Lubwa did not do the numbers of adherents would be approximately the same. In 1953 the district had an estimated population of 44,313.<sup>2</sup>

L u b w a		TABLE X/X: LUBWA CHURCH 1953-5 <sup>1</sup>		
District Church had in 1953 and in 1954 a paid-up evangelical staff of two ministers, Paul Mushindo in Lubwa and Noah		1953	1954	1955
	Full members	3,191	4,960	3,470
	Male elders	60	56	
	Female elders	6	10	
	Congregations	2	6	
	Centres of worship	26	36	

<sup>1</sup> UCZ 592 UFCS. Lubwa Mission. Annual Returns for 1953 and 1954, and NAZ HM 28 UN 9/2 Church of Scotland Statistical Returns for 1954.

*Full members* = number of communicant church members on roll at beginning of year;

*Congregations* = number of organized congregations with separate communion rolls;

*Centres of worship* = number of centres of regular worship including all central and outstations;

Chulu in Kasama and 16 evangelists.<sup>3</sup> It had a European missionary-in-charge, while a European woman was in charge of the Girls' Boarding School. She had also to organize social and evangelistic work with African women. The main agents of evangelistic work were the

<sup>1</sup> A. D. Roberts, 1970, 'The Lumpa Church of Alice Lenshina' in: R. I. Rotberg and A. A. Mazrui, *Protest and Power in Black Africa*, New York, reprint, Lusaka, 1972: 21.

<sup>2</sup> NAZ SEC 1/104.

<sup>3</sup> NAZ HM 28 UN 9/2 Annual Reports Lubwa, 1938-1954.

evangelists and catechists. Lubwa District was divided into twelve sub-districts, each with one or two evangelists. In 1955 these evangelists and their districts were as follows:

Abraham Mwana Mwenge and	
Barnaba L. Mutale	<i>Chinsali/Lubwa/Nkula</i>
Reuben Nkashi	<i>Shimwalule/Nkweto</i>
S. Peyoni Bwalya	<i>Musanya/Mundu</i>
Thomas Shuka	<i>Mwika/Shem</i>
Thomas Nkamba	<i>Mwenge</i>
Mateyo Chilufya	<i>Malekani</i>
Moses Musonda and Dickson Chanda	<i>Kabanda</i>
Samson Nsofu	<i>Chewe</i>
Ben Ng'ona and Lamech Nsofu	<i>Chibesakunda</i>
Isaac Chafungwa	<i>Katambala</i>
Simon Sampa	<i>Shiba Ng'andu</i>
Yotam Lulembo	<i>Mulilabantu/Mpika Boma.</i>

The income of Lubwa Church had to come from voluntary church donations and these remained low. The annual offerings amounted to £ 45.5.8 in 1954, and £ 15.18.4 in 1955. The church collections alone produced the amount of £ 7.17.6 in the first quarter of 1954, and £ 7.8.10 in the first quarter of 1955.<sup>1</sup> Total liberality (annual offerings, church collections and other income) amounted to £ 255 in 1954.<sup>2</sup> This was not enough to support the evangelistic activities of Lubwa. An ordained minister earned 125/- per month in 1954, and a trained Presbytery evangelist between 40/- and 60/- per month.<sup>3</sup> The mission budget was much higher since most of the educational and medical work of the mission was still going on, while the Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland continued to pay for the salaries of the evangelists and catechists. Table XIX shows the budget that was prepared in 1955 for Lubwa Mission for 1956, showing the sums, under

<sup>1</sup>. NAZ HM 28 UN 1/5 CCAR Presbytery Agenda for Presbytery Meetings, Lubwa 24-4-1955.

<sup>2</sup>. Most of the liberality came from the source 'other income.' This is not further specified. Missionaries were encouraged to join the local church, they were serving. They contributed, with their much higher incomes, a considerable part of local liberality.

<sup>3</sup>. *Minutes of Presbytery*, 54/74.

various heads, requested from the two main overseas sources of finance.<sup>1</sup> The figures are exclusive of the grants-in-aid of Government. In 1953 and 1954 the educational network of Lubwa Mission was still extensive. At Lubwa there was an Upper, a Middle and an Elementary School and the teacher-training

TABLE XX: LUBWA: FMC AND WFM ESTIMATES FOR 1956

	FMC	WFM
Evangelism (£)	200	30
Repairs	137	80
Itineration	120	60
Depreciation	60	-
Miscellaneous	170	10
Total (£)	687	180

school. Lubwa had four middle schools situated at Mundu, Chibesa-kunda, Nkula and Mwenge. Its 18 elementary schools were situated at: Charles, Shimwalule, Musanya, Chewa, Chinsali, Kampemba, Musunsu, Malekani, Kabanda, Lapukeni, Chinkumba, Chibuta, Mulilabantu, Lupande, Muntuwenda, Mwika, Shem-Chipika and Kalisha. In 1953 Lubwa catered for 43% of the boys in the age group seven to fourteen in the district, and in 1954 for 48% of those boys.<sup>2</sup> The participation of girls in the educational system of Lubwa was much lower: in 1953 24 % of the girls in the age group 7 to 14 went to Lubwa schools, and in 1954: 28 %. Half the children attending the Lubwa schools had been baptized as infants.<sup>3</sup> This educational effort required a considerable number of teachers. In 1953 Lubwa employed 108 teachers, and in 1954 128. The salary costs were met by government grants-in-aid. Lubwa's medical work continued. It was also largely met by a grants-in-aid. From 1954 onwards the costs of Lubwa's medical work were met by a Federal grant. As shown before, the work was only indirectly related to the evangelistic work of the mission.

<sup>1</sup> NAZ HM 28 UN 1/9 Church of Scotland in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, Regional Committee, Livingstonia, 5 / 9-9-1955.

<sup>2</sup> We may assume that half of those in the age group 7 - 14 were boys. In 1956 the sex ratio, the number of boys per 1,000 girls, for children in the district was 1,007 [Stuart Williams, 1962, *The Distribution of the African Population of Northern Rhodesia*, in: *Rhodes-Livingstone Communication* 24: Appendix 2]. The 1969 Census gave as sex ratio for those under 15: 1,001 [M. E. Jackman, 1973, *Recent Population Movements in Zambia: Some Aspects of the 1969 Census*, Manchester: 23].

<sup>3</sup> NAZ HM 28 UN 9/2 Church of Scotland Statistical returns. Note made by statistics for Lubwa Mission for 1953

TABLE XX: LUBWA MISSION: EDUCATION, 1953-4

	1953		1954		
	primary	LTS	village	primary	middle
Aided schools	25	1	24	5	1
Male pupils	2,211	17	1,896	551	117
Female pupils	1,205	18	1,137	280	47
Total pupils	3,416	35	3,033	831	164
Total children	10,230		10,635		
% Children at Lubwa schools	33 %		38 %		

### 3. The Crisis of 1955

1955 was a year of crisis. It was the year when Lubwa experienced its first and only schism. The issues were the authority of direct revelation as against revelation from the Bible, the position of women in the church leadership, and the place of witchcraft eradication in the church.<sup>1</sup> The schism was led by Alice Mulenga Lubusha, a 35-year old, uneducated woman, who lived with her husband and five children in a small village, Kasomo, about 10 kms north of Lubwa.<sup>2</sup> Kasomo did not have a school or a resident evangelist from Lubwa. On 18 September 1953 Alice went

<sup>1</sup>. The account of these events is based on: Paul Mushindo, 1955, 'The Lenshina Movement', paper presented to the CCAR Presbytery in 1955, in: EUL Kenneth MacKenzie Papers; F. Macpherson, 1958, 'Notes on the Beginning of the Movement', in: The Alice Movement in Northern Rhodesia, *Occasional Paper* of the International Missionary Council (IMC), Department of Mission Studies, Vol. 1, August 1958, London: 2-5; W. Vernon Stone, 1958, 'The "Alice Movement" in 1956', *Occasional Paper*, IMC, 1: 5-10; L. Oger, 'Lumpa Church. A Study of the Lenshina Movement (1955-1960)', n. p.; L. Oger, 1961, 'Lumpa-Church', in: *Notes et Documents*: 401-10; R. I. Rotberg, 1961, 'The Lenshina Movement of Northern Rhodesia' in: *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*; Christine Heward, 1964, 'The Rise of Alice Lenshina', in: *New Society*, 4, 98: 6-8; J. L. Calmettes, 1969, 'Lumpa Church I: Genèse et Développement', Paris (cyclostyle); J. L. Calmettes, 1972, 'The Lumpa Church and Witchcraft Eradication', paper on the Conference on the History of Central African Religious Systems, Lusaka; J. L. Calmettes, 1978, 'The Lumpa Sect, Rural Reconstruction, and Conflict', M. Sc. Thesis, Aberystwyth (unpublished); J. L. Calmettes, 1980, 'Un Conflit Politico-Religieux en Zambie: Les Enseignements de la Crise Lumpa', in: *Culture et Développement*, 12, 2: 195-233. A. D. Roberts, 1970, 'The Lumpa Church of Alice Lenshina', in: R. I. Rotberg and A. A. Mazrui (eds), *Protest and Power in Black Africa*, New York: 513-68, reprinted as pamphlet, Lusaka, 1972, and TI Abel Nkamba, 2-6-1982. Abel Nkamba was church secretary at that time. My interest is mainly in Lumpa's relationship to Lubwa church and Lubwa's reaction to Lumpa.

<sup>2</sup>. According to the 1965 Report she was illiterate (*Report of the Commission of Enquiry Into the Former Lumpa Church*, 1965, Lusaka: 3). According to Hugo Hinfelaar Alice was 29 years old in 1953 (in letter to author, 21-3-1989).

to Lubwa Mission with her husband, Petros Chintankwa, and claimed she had had a vision of Jesus, who charged her *to go and preach*. She also claimed to have died and to have risen again four times. Alice Mulenga was well known at Lubwa Mission, as she had been one of the 'helpers' of Miss Sarah Miller, who was responsible for the social and evangelistic work with African women,<sup>1</sup> while Petros had once been employed by the mission.<sup>2</sup> The missionary-in-charge at Lubwa, Fergus Macpherson, gave her encouragement and referred her to John Mpuku Bwembya, the senior catechist, for catechumen classes. She was told to attend worship regularly and gather people in her village for prayer. Macpherson himself had been dissatisfied with the way the church of Lubwa was organized. He found it 'too rigid and conservative, wanting in zeal and vision,' and thought that the type of spiritual experience of this young woman should have a place in Lubwa Church and could lead to spiritual refreshment. He based this on 1 Corinthians 12 and 14: 26-28: 'When you come together, everyone has a hymn, or a word of instruction, a revelation, a tongue or an interpretation.'<sup>3</sup> When Alice came to the mission after her religious experience, she was also brought before the church council which was then in session. There is no information about the initial attitude of the church council. Alice claimed to have received a book, the Book of Life (*Ibuku Iya Mweo*), which she wanted to disclose only to Europeans. When the church council wanted to see the book she refused and said it was only necessary for Europeans.<sup>4</sup> Alice Mulenga

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Mrs. Nelson to author, 10-8-1987.

<sup>2</sup> Fergus Macpherson, 1958, 'Notes': 2-3.

<sup>3</sup> In this passage Paul also charges the church in Corinth that 'women should remain silent in the churches. They are not allowed to speak, but must be in submission as the Law says' (1 Cor. 14:34)! This was not quoted by Rev. Macpherson. Some members of the predominantly male church council, could well have agreed more with Paul's opinion about the role of women in the church than with Macpherson's view on the place extrabiblical revelation of the type experienced by Alice should have in the Presbyterian Church. There is, however, no record of initial opposition by the church council to Macpherson's proposal. Lehmann states that Rev. Mushindo did not accept the ministry of a woman, but Lehmann does not give details about the kind of opposition by Mushindo (D. Lehmann, 1963, 'Woman in the Independent African Churches', in: V. E. W. Hayward (ed.), *African Independent Church Movements*, London: 68). Macpherson states that Mushindo revealed his displeasure and his opposition to Lenshina only after 1954 (Macpherson, 11-6-1990, in letter to author).

<sup>4</sup> TI Abel Nkamba. Macpherson (11-6-1990 in letter to author) stresses that Lenshina used the term *abena-kubuta*, 'people of whiteness' and not the usual term for 'Europeans.' See also J-L. Calmettes (1978, 'The Lumpa Sect': 122-123) about this 'Book



brought her message in the form of hymns, with a very simple evangelical theme: 'Anyone who does not repent and believe in Jesus, he cannot stand near the judgment throne of God,' and 'We shall not cross the river, unless our hearts are washed.' Lubwa Church accepted her mission and sanctioned it by baptizing her only a few months after her vision without her having attended the usual lengthy hearer and catechumen classes. She was baptized in the beginning of 1954 by Rev. Mushindo.<sup>1</sup> Lubwa Mission gave assistance to Alice, and encouraged her to speak in the church.<sup>2</sup> At least on one occasion the mission lorry carried the choir which Alice had formed to Chief Nkula's village. Her mission included the direction 'to cleanse the land from witchcraft and preach against all sorcerers.' It was this last message which initially attracted people, not the miracle that she had died and been resurrected.<sup>3</sup>

Alice Mulenga soon gathered around her in Kasomo some teachers and a catechist from Lubwa. The movement then got the character of a separate church with its own organizational structure, independent of that of Lubwa. Robert Kaunda joined in August 1954 and became 'Senior Deacon' (or church elder) in the movement.<sup>4</sup> Sandy Rain (Mfula) Mulenga, an ex-mission teacher, and boma clerk was also among

of Life'. W. Vernon Stone (1958, 'The "Alice Movement"': 9) records the rumour that the Book of Life was meant for Africans but that it was taken by the Europeans of Lubwa or those of Ilondola. The Book of Life does not seem to have played an important role in the further development of the theology of the Lumpa Church. There is some irony in the fact that Lubwa Church still had to wait till 1956 before it had the complete Bible in ChiBemba.

<sup>1</sup>. Paul Mushindo, 1955, 'The Lenshina Movement', says she was baptized the next year (1954) at Chinsali boma. Lenshina claimed to have been in the catechumen class of Lubwa some years earlier, but she said she had fallen away (F. Macpherson, 11-6-1990, in letter to author). Leslie Charlton, (1969, *Spark in the stubble. Colin Morris of Zambia*, London: 129) gives 22-11-1953 as the date of her baptism. His information is based on a document written by Rev. Mushindo, submitted by him as evidence to the Commission of Enquiry into the Lumpa disturbances.

<sup>2</sup>. I am not certain whether in her sermons in the church of Lubwa she also stressed the need to do away with witchcraft. There is no evidence that in this early stage of her career as a prophetess and church leader she was dogmatically corrected by the missionary-in-charge, the elders or the minister at Lubwa.

<sup>3</sup>. Paul Mushindo, 1955, 'The Lenshina Movement'. Rev. Mushindo, strangely enough, mentions her resurrection as a fact without making any value judgments about the truth of her statements.

<sup>4</sup>. TI Robert Kaunda, Shambalakale, 21-1-1979. Robert Kaunda claims that he was the first church elder of Lenshina. He was at that time already a suspended church member of Lubwa Church (F. Macpherson, 11-6-1990, in letter to author).

her first deacons together with Kanaan (Matamanga) Bwali from Shikasote. Alice's husband, Petros Chintankwa, played an important role as treasurer, but he also assumed pastoral duties. One Lubwa catechist, Wilson Museba, left Lubwa for Alice, who by mid-1954 was called Lenshina.<sup>1</sup>

Lubwa and Alice seem to have started to move apart somewhere in the second half of 1954.<sup>2</sup> It could well be that this was because of the influence of teachers like Robert Kaunda and catechists from Lubwa who joined the movement about this time. One source states that it was Robert Kaunda who introduced to Lenshina the idea of establishing a separate church.<sup>3</sup> Robert Kaunda may have felt frustrated by Lubwa. He was the eldest son of David Kaunda, the evangelist of the Eastern Bemba and the first African minister, but he never got a position of influence in the Church. Before the war he had been transferred, against his wishes, to the Copperbelt to work with the UMCB as a teacher. He joined the army during the war and served with the medical troops in Somalia, North Africa and Burma. He even had the opportunity during his leave to visit Jerusalem, which some people in the district thought existed only in heaven. It made a deep impression on him. After the war he settled on Shambalakale farm, a cooperative farm, near his mother, Helen Kaunda, who later also joined the Lumpa Church. Robert got engaged in farming and was chairman of the Chinsali Young Men's Farming Association. In this period he did not play a role in the Welfare Association or in the African National Congress. As Senior Deacon, he had a leading position, probably immediately after Lenshina and Petros Chintankwa, a position he could never have had at Lubwa, where Mushindo was minister-in-charge. Moreover, Robert's brother Kenneth, who was now in Lusaka and the second-in-command in the nationalist movement, had at times

<sup>1</sup>. According to Roman Catholic sources the name Lenshina is derived from the Latin *Regina*, Queen. The Catholics felt offended by the name as only Mary, the mother of Jesus, was Regina, Regina Mundi, Queen of the World. It is not clear why and exactly when Alice became called Lenshina.

<sup>2</sup>. In November 1954 the name 'Lenshina' appears for the first time in the station diary of Ilondola. Fr. Jutz made the observation that 'every day groups of people (are) going to see a woman called Regina at Kasongo [sc. Kasomo]... They receive medicine from her for a good crop (to) eat' (WFA Ilondola Diary: 118, 7-11-1954).

<sup>3</sup>. Interview Fr. Peter Bwalya, Chinsali, 4-10-1982.

pleaded for the right of Africans to have their own exegesis of the Scriptures independent of the authority of European missionaries. Robert Kaunda was of the opinion that preaching in the Lumpa Church was 'exactly the same' as at Lubwa. 'Hymns were from the Bible.'<sup>1</sup> Macpherson seems to have agreed. He did not see anything heretical in Lenshina's message. He preferred the indigenous praise of Lumpa to the Lubwa hymns which were all translated from English.<sup>2</sup> This may explain why the church of Lubwa was so late in reacting to the developments in Kasomo, even when Alice began to engage herself actively to the problem of witchcraft, an immense pastoral problem which Lubwa had largely ignored. Already in November 1954 groups of people went to Kasomo to receive blessed seeds.<sup>3</sup> Alice also began to baptize people. The baptism was related to witch cleansing: people were baptized and in this way saved from the evil of witchcraft if they brought their magic horns and charms and promised never to engage in the practice of witchcraft.<sup>4</sup> By February 1955 almost everybody in Kabanda's area had gone to Lenshina, and those who did not go were considered sorcerers by the others.<sup>5</sup> By June brick making for a church at Kasomo had begun.<sup>6</sup>

The movement quickly became too large for the church session of Lubwa to control it; besides it rejected control by the District Church Council of Lubwa. In 1955 over 60,000 pilgrims visited Kasomo, now renamed Sione. There at her 'Temple', the tree under which Alice had her vision, people could be cleansed from their sins, after confessing them and throwing away implements of witchcraft. A baptism followed. The Lubwa missionary Stone considered the baptism a 'heathen purification rite' as it could be given more than once to the same people.<sup>7</sup> By 1955

<sup>1</sup>. TI Robert Kaunda, 21-1-1979. Many of the Lumpa hymns were composed by Robert Kaunda. Mrs. Brown had taught him music and the many Scottish hymns which MacMinn and Mushindo had translated into Bemba.

<sup>2</sup>. Fergus Macpherson, 1958, 'Notes': 4.

<sup>3</sup>. WFA Ilondola Diary, 7-11-1954.

<sup>4</sup>. EUL Paul Mushindo, 1955, 'The Lenshina Movement'; J-L. Calmettes, 1978, 'The Lumpa Sect': 119, who quotes D. Lehmann, 1961, 'Alice Lenshina and the Lumpa Church', in: J. V. Taylor and D. Lehmann (eds), *Christians of the Copperbelt*, London: 250.

<sup>5</sup>. WFA Ilondola Diary, 21-2-1955.

<sup>6</sup>. WFA Circulaires Abercorn, Circular 5, 1955, Ilondola, 15-6-1955.

<sup>7</sup>. W. Vernon Stone, 1958, 'The "Alice Movement"': 6-7, 9.

the movement of Lenshina was being called 'Lumpa' (Above all others).<sup>1</sup> The Roman Catholics avoided direct confrontations with Lenshina. In March 1955 Bishop van de Biesen of the Abercorn Vicariate decided that going to Kasomo for witchcraft eradication was a 'less serious' offence than being baptised by Lenshina. The latter meant exclusion from the sacraments, and readmission was possible only by visiting a mission station.<sup>2</sup> On 5 and 6 September 1955 the Roman Catholics organized at Ilondola a Rally for the Family Rosary Crusade. It was quite successful, being attended by at least 2,000 people,<sup>3</sup> though it was confined to Ilondola Mission.

In 1955 Lubwa began to see Lumpa as a serious threat and considered concrete action to counter the movement. In April 1955 the Presbytery of the CCAR discussed how the Lenshina movement should be dealt with. It was decided to try to curb the influence of Lenshina by organizing a large scale preaching campaign in October. The campaign was to be co-ordinated by the Rev. John Fraser, the new missionary-in-charge at Lubwa. Assistance would be given by a team from Chitambo, led by Rev. Jackson Mwape, and one from Mwenzo led by Stevenson Sichelwe. Rev. John Sikazwe (Copperbelt) and Rev. Noah Chulu (Kasama) would also join the campaign, while Miss Sarah Miller would come from Chitambo to help organize the women. Teachers, hospital workers, and members of the Women Guild would be engaged in the campaign. The local evangelists would be prepared for the campaign in a one-week refresher course. The teaching and preaching of the campaign would be centred on the Bible. The way of salvation would be shown as the 'complete faith in Christ and in Him alone.' After this message the

<sup>1</sup>. EUL Paul Mushindo, 1955, 'The Lenshina Movement'; Christine Woods Heward, (1964: 'The Rise of Alice Lenshina': 6-8) gives as the meaning of Lumpa: 'In a hurry'; the other churches promise salvation with a delay, but Lenshina promises this immediately. She mentions as her source Alice Lenshina herself.

<sup>2</sup>. Abercorn Vicariate, Circular No. 1, 3-3-1955, in: J. L. Calmettes, 1978, 'The Lumpa Sect': 174.

<sup>3</sup>. WFA Circulars Abercorn Circular 9, 16-8-1955, and Ilondola Diary, 5-9-1955. A factor to bring about this success was the cooperation by Government. The Provincial Commissioner did not object to government officials to get free to attend the rallies, the final decision to be taken by the DCs. The PEO allowed all the Roman Catholic school children to get free to go to these rallies (WFA Circulars Abercorn: Circular 9, 1955, 16-8-1955).

people would be called upon to 'a fresh giving of themselves again to God by a public reaffirmation of their faith.' Those who had done this, and those alone, would be admitted to a communion service. The campaign had to make clear that 'no true Christian could subscribe to teaching about medicines for growing gardens and for guarding people or attacks on the Word of God and the Church of Jesus Christ.' It was decided that after the campaign Alice and her assistants would be suspended if they would not agree with the view of Lubwa on salvation and on 'medicine.'<sup>1</sup> The campaign was announced in a letter to Alice. John Fraser accused her in his letter of telling the people not to read the Word of God, and of giving the people medicines both to make their gardens grow and to protect them from harm. He expressed the hope that Lenshina would 'do nothing to speak or work against this work of God...'<sup>2</sup> (i. e. the evangelistic campaign of Lubwa).

The Lubwa Campaign aimed to visit every village of the district and confront the people with a choice for or against Lenshina. In July 1955 people had welcomed a touring district officer with Lenshina songs and told him that they followed both Lubwa Mission and Lenshina.<sup>3</sup> The Lubwa Campaign made this impossible and offered a model of salvation, which excluded the model of Lenshina. There were eight district teams, each of which consisted of one or two visitors and the local evangelist. These spent three or four days in each centre. Tracts, leaflets, John's Gospel and other literature were available for sale and for free distribution. However, ahead of the campaign workers messengers had been sent from Kasomo to tell the people that the Lubwa workers were the agents of the devil, that they must not listen to what they would say, and that the people should either stay in their homes or go into the bush when the campaign preachers arrived. Many people appeared uncertain and confused when confronted with the campaign. Only 300 reaffirmed

<sup>1</sup>. *Minutes of Presbytery, 1955* MP55/26.

<sup>2</sup>. WM Undated, unsigned, typescript copy of letter in the handwriting of John Fraser.

<sup>3</sup>. NAZ SEC 2/760 Tour Report No 6 of 1955, 28-7-1955.

their faith and were now considered 'live, reliable' members of the church.<sup>1</sup> Moreover at least 100 of these were at Lubwa Mission. In 1954 Lubwa had 70 elders and employed 126 teachers and 15 evangelists. Whereas at the beginning of 1953 there were over 3,000 communicant members,<sup>2</sup> Lubwa now began to count its members from these 300.

After this very unsuccessful campaign the church council met on 15 December 1955 to discuss the suspension of Lenshina and the leaders of the Lenshina movement. A letter was sent to Lenshina, suggestively addressed: 'To the wife of Petros.' The reasons for the suspension of Lenshina were: she was preaching

- (1) that people should reject other churches as they now had the Lumpa Church (were *bena Lumpa*),
- (2) that meeting and praying with other Christians were not allowed as these were the servants of Satan,
- (3) that the Bible was 'a deserted village,' which should no longer be read.
- (4) Lenshina was also telling people to come and hear God speaking like a human being, and
- (5) she had built prayer houses all over the country.

The suspension [or expulsion] of Alice Lenshina, Peter Chintankwa, Kanaan Matamanga Bwali and Wilson Museba was with effect from 15 December, 'until you shall repent.' Apart from these five leaders, another 22 members of Lubwa were suspended.<sup>3</sup> It is worth noting that the church council does not mention the witchcraft eradication aspect of the Lumpa Church. However, accusation (2) implies that the Lumpa Church considered non-Lumpa members as 'servants of Satan', i. e. as witches. The reply of the Lumpa Church came after two months. Kanaan Bwali

<sup>1</sup>. WM Report of the campaign (manuscript), November 1955. See Appendix V, p. 250 about the distribution in the district of the remnant of the Lubwa Church.

<sup>2</sup>. See Table XVIII: Lubwa Church 1953-5, p. 190 above.

<sup>3</sup>. W. van Binsbergen (1979, *Religious Change in Zambia. Exploratory Studies*, Haarlem: 407) is incorrect where he concludes that many of the early senior leaders of the movement were nationalists who for that reason had left Lubwa Mission. Nationalists like Kenneth Kaunda, Robert Makasa, Sokoni and Kapwepwe had then already left the district, and in several cases also Lubwa Church and the Church of Central Africa in Rhodesia. On the other hand, Robert Kaunda, the senior deacon of Lumpa had not been a leading member of the Chinsali Welfare Association or the Chinsali Branch of Congress.

wrote two letters, one to 'the Bwana' (the missionary-in-charge, John Fraser) and one to Paul Mushindo, while Lenshina herself wrote one letter addressed to John Fraser, Paul Mushindo and Thom Sabi. Kanaan Bwali wrote that there was nothing wrong with a schism. As the Free Church had broken away from the Church of Rome, and the Watchtower from the Free Church, now the Lumpa Church had broken away from Lubwa. Bwali did not consider himself a member of Lubwa Church any longer as now he was 'in the place of our Lord of Life (*shikulwifwe wa mweo*).' Lenshina herself wrote that only God had the right to suspend her. She felt hurt by accusations that she was only speaking through a reed-pipe pretending that it is the voice of God. People, such as the members of the church council, who hated her could not, for that reason, be people of God. There was no reason to hate her as she was a 'blameless person, who have [sic] not murdered any of your relatives'

(i. e. she was not a witch).<sup>1</sup> The gist of her letter was that she no longer recognised the authority of the church council, but only the authority of God.<sup>2</sup> Unlike the model of salvation offered by Lubwa Church, the model Lenshina offered seemed to be exclusive: anybody who was against her ('hates her') was for that very reason not 'a person of God.' Although Lenshina at the end of her letter asked the Lubwa Church Council to reply to her letter and to enclose some leaves of paper for her to reply again, there is no record of a continuation of this effort at dialogue: the schism was complete.

It may be important to note here that even so early in the development of the Lumpa Church there were veiled threats to those who did not join. Kanaan Bwali accused Paul Mushindo of evil intentions and he cursed him as follows: 'You still have the light of the sun of death deceiving you, in short time the sorrow and shame shall fall upon you as a thief.'<sup>3</sup> From the beginning, Lumpa worked with a manicheistic model

<sup>1</sup>. WM Copy of letter from Alice Lenshina Mulenga, Kasomo Village, 12-2-1956.

<sup>2</sup>. It is interesting to note that Lenshina's defence of her movement is similar to that used by the Independent Watchtower Movement of 1918 in Isoka and Chinsali districts. This movement also recognized only the authority of God and not the 'words of men.'

<sup>3</sup>. WM Letter from Kanaan Bwali to Paul Mushindo, Kasomo Village, 12-2-1956. This was a very strong curse, which is usually perceived as a concrete threat to use supernatural means (witchcraft) to harm somebody.

of the world: only those following Lenshina, 'our Lord of Life,' would be saved. The outsiders were considered subhuman, mere animals (*fisongo*).<sup>1</sup> It is clear that Lubwa Church rejected a theology whereby those outside Lubwa Church were considered 'subhuman.' Nevertheless at least some followers of Lubwa Church could have interpreted in this way the vehement anti-Roman-Catholicism of Dr Brown, medical missionary of Lubwa from 1927 to 1947. The folkmyth originating from this was that the Roman Catholics, 'the Romans' (*'Baroma'*), mistakenly identified with the Roman occupiers of the Holy Land in New Testament times, had crucified Christ. This means that the 'Romans' could be considered a kind of superwitches. This type of folk-myth could well have been accepted as true especially by those who were only marginally touched by the mission, those who never had the opportunity to attend the schools of Lubwa or who had left after one or two years schooling. These were also the people who were attracted by the simple and practical promise of salvation of Lumpa, and by its openness for illiterate and semi-literate believers. Certain hymns of the Lumpa Church hinted in fact at the accusation that the '*Baroma*' ('the Romans') had crucified Jesus.<sup>2</sup> In a different form one sees the negative Presbyterian attitude towards Roman-Catholicism taken over by Lumpa: crucifixes were rejected as protective medicine and participation in the Holy Mass was forbidden on pain of death. In fact Lumpa considered the Eucharist an ancestral rite.<sup>3</sup>

Macpherson had hoped to accommodate the Lumpa Church, but

<sup>1</sup>. *Chisongo* = bushbuck, people who refused to go to Kasomo (Interview Janson Kilembe, Chinsali, 6-6-1982).

<sup>2</sup>. Hugo Hinfelaar, 1989, 'Religious Change': 127. See also her sermon with hymn in which she explicitly stated: 'Those who stay behind (i. e. those who do not join the Lumpa Church) are bad. It is those who took the Lord and crucified Him' (EUL Kenneth MacKenzie Papers).

<sup>3</sup>. G. Bond, 1979, 'A Prophecy that failed', in: G. Bond and others, *African Christianity*, New York: 148. At Lubwa the Lord's Supper was only celebrated a few times a year. In 1959 it took place four times at Lubwa and two times in the district as a whole (LOA Lubwa DCC Report 1959). This shows signs of hyper-Calvinism, which has a negative attitude towards the Lord's Supper as it stresses that man is sinful and rarely worthy to take part in the Lord's Supper (John Macleod, 1946 [second ed.], *Scottish Theology in Relation to Church History Since the Reformation*, Edinburgh: 97, 140-3, 166). Lenshina or her deacons could well have learnt this attitude towards the Lord's Supper at Lubwa.



this proved to be difficult.<sup>1</sup> These were contrasting models of church and of faith. Lubwa was still at that time very much an institutionalized Church, with official ranks and offices, and formal criteria whereby one could move from one category to another. Lubwa preached a *rational* religion. The stress was on the Bible as the revealed Word of God. Independent thinking had been fostered. The missionaries of Lubwa had tried to reconcile faith and science. Health care and the teaching of hygiene was integrated in its evangelical message. There was an openness to the world. The Lumpa Church had an informal, largely undefined organisation. A government report of 1956 even stated that the movement had no formal organisation at all, neither a hierarchy, nor a democratic council!<sup>2</sup> There were ranks and positions, like those of senior deacons, deacons, apostles, and choir members, but there were no formal entrance criteria for these functions. One became a 'priest' (*shimapepo*), i. e. an office bearer in the church, simply by going to Kasomo and asking to become one.<sup>3</sup> No training was required. Moreover every position in the church was open to women. Part of the antagonism of Lubwa Church Council, which had a majority of men, may have been due to suspicion of a movement in which women had a relatively great influence.<sup>4</sup> The movement preached a social gospel which clearly served the interests of women who suffered as wives of husbands who had gone away for long periods looking for work in the industrial centres, or who were widows, neglected by their in-laws.<sup>5</sup> Beerdrinking, predominantly a

<sup>1</sup>. Fergus Macpherson, 1958, 'Notes': 4. See also: A. D. Roberts, 1972 (1970), 'The Lumpa Church': 14.

<sup>2</sup>. NAZ SEC 2/761 Tour Report No. 3 of 1956 Nkweto. Confidential Annexe: Lenshina by E. T. Rockett, Cadet Labour Officer.

<sup>3</sup>. W. Vernon Stone, 1958, 'The "Alice Movement"': 8. G. Bond (1979, 'A Prophecy': 148-150) gives three ranks in the Lumpa Church of Uyombe: Deacon, Preacher and Judge. The post of preacher was the most important one. About the various ranks in the Lumpa Church see also: L. Oger (1960, *Lumpa Church*: 15, 16) and J-L. Calmettes (1978, 'The Lumpa Sect': 144). Calmettes gives also the position of 'elder' (*mukumfwa*). The word 'priest' (*shimapepo*) is in Zambia often used for ordained salaried office bearer even in the Protestant churches (pace Calmettes (1978: 144) who feels that the designation 'priest' has Roman Catholic connotations).

<sup>4</sup>. D. Lehmann (in: V. E. W. Hayward, 1963, *African Independent Church Movements*: 68) argued that Mushindo was responsible for the schism because he was not ready to accept the ministry of a woman (quoted by J-L. Calmettes, 1978, 'The Lumpa Sect': 128).

<sup>5</sup>. The term 'social gospel' was introduced by the American theologian Walter Rauschenbush (1861-1918). A. D. Roberts, 1972 (1970), 'The Lumpa Church': 18, stresses the 'social gospel' aspect of the movement. Rev. W. McKenzie confirms this when

male activity, adultery, polygyny and the inheriting of widows were forbidden.<sup>1</sup> Another attraction of the movement was possibly that because of its loose organisation and undefined theology it could mean different things for different people. This explains why contemporary observers gave contradictory accounts of the movement, e. g. with respect to its initial attitude towards Congress. Roman Catholic sources stress the political element in the Lenshina movement. Oger even compared the movement with the Mau-Mau! Government reports however deny this relationship.<sup>2</sup> There is also disagreement about the role of Jesus Christ, the sacraments and position of the Bible in the theology of the Lumpa Church.<sup>3</sup>

Lumpa promised to deal effectively with witchcraft. The pilgrimage to Kasomo gave participants a baptism, or ritual cleansing, which provided protection against witchcraft. The 'baptism' was given after a confession of one's sins (especially the sin of witchcraft), the throwing upon a heap of one's lucky charms, protective medicine (including rosaries and crucifixes) and witchcraft instruments. One had

praising the Lumpa Church as follows: 'I used to consider that I could recognise any village occupied by Alice's followers ... They were always clean, orderly, with well-tended houses and gardens, livestock in evidence and a village church building. They exuded a certain vitality not often evident in other villages' (in: 'The Church in Rural Zambia Since Independence'. Paper Seminar Christianity in Independent Africa, 11-12-1974, Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation (cyclostyle)).

<sup>1</sup>. The Rules of the Lumpa Church, Appendix "A" in *Report of the Commission of Inquiry*, 1965: 17 (photocopy in J-L. Calmettes, 1978, 'The Lumpa Sect': 137). These rules do not differ from the rules Lubwa had set on these issues. The view of the *Report* (1965: 4) that 'Lenshina formed her own Church to enforce those (high moral) standards' is too simplistic.

<sup>2</sup>. L. Oger, 1960, *Lumpa Church*: 11. The Bemba Native Authority in 1955 considered her activities to be 'non-political.' Government reports affirmed this and stated that the movement had been kept 'remarkable free of political emphasis' (*Annual Report upon African Affairs*, 1955). The *Report of the Commission of Inquiry* (1965: 5) however states that the ANC showed in the beginning an interest in the movement. A. D. Roberts mentions that the reports regarding the initial relationship between Lumpa and Congress are ambiguous (A. D. Roberts, 1972 (1970), 'The Lumpa Church': 28). The negative attitude of the Roman Catholic Church could be interpreted as an effort to get rid of a rival religious movement. The Kimbanguist Church was banned by the Government of the Belgian Congo after Roman Catholic reports of its political subversive, anti-white character. In Northern Rhodesia the Government banned the Emilio movement; it had received Roman Catholic reports on the immoral character of its rituals. *after*

<sup>3</sup>. G. Bond (1979, 'A Prophecy': 148) mentions three sacraments: baptism which was administered only in Sione, marriage and burial. Roman Catholic sources mention: baptism, confession and marriage (WFA 521 164 Rapport Annuel Abercorn, 1954-5; L. Oger, 1960, *Lumpa Church*: 2, 13; J. L. Calmettes, 1978, 'The Lumpa Sect': 120 ff. See also W. V. Stone, 1958, 'The "Alice Movement"': 7).

to promise on pain of death never to engage again in witchcraft. For many of the early pilgrims the journey to Kasomo may not have meant more than going to a *ng'anga* or a witchfinder, for a case of illness or bad luck where modern methods, such as Lubwa Hospital used, proved ineffective. Lubwa with its rededication campaign forced people to give up this pluralistic approach to the world of the supernatural. Lubwa missionaries were aware of the people's fear of witchcraft, but because of their modern, western education they were unable to acknowledge the reality of witchcraft. The Church did not address in any concrete, visible way this urgent pastoral problem. The method of Lenshina however also had its limitations. Her baptism could be seen as a charm, which was more powerful than the charms on which one had depended so far.<sup>1</sup> There remained people who were unwilling or unable to make the pilgrimage to Kasomo. This could be perceived as unwillingness to give up witchcraft. Moreover accusations of witchcraft could always backfire. There was a rumour that those going to Lenshina were witches seeking protection.<sup>2</sup> Petros was said by some to have gone to Tanganyika to learn witchcraft, but something went wrong and all the luck went to his wife. It was rumoured that Robert Kaunda learnt at confession how the witchcraft instruments worked and then used these for the benefit of the Lumpa Church.<sup>3</sup>

#### 4. Efforts at restructuring, 1956-1959

In an effort to turn the tide of the Lumpa Church the Regional Council of the Church of Scotland for Nyasaland and Rhodesia decided in 1956 to appoint Dr David Wilson as missionary-in-charge at Lubwa. John Fraser was then full-time available for evangelistic and church building activities. In December 1956 W. Vernon Stone, from the Overtoun

<sup>1</sup>. A. D. Roberts, 1972 (1970), 'The Lumpa Church': 19, note 56 on protective charms issued by Lenshina. J. L. Calmettes (1972, 'The Lumpa Sect': 22-23) also points to this dilemma in the ministry of Lenshina: her baptism was *bwanga*, a countermedicine, but not basically different from the *bwanga* of the witches, the *baloshi*, it was supposed to make redundant.

<sup>2</sup>. 'All people suspected of witchcraft ran away to hide in her protection' (Leslie Charlton, 1969, *Spark*: 129, basing himself on a document written by Paul Mushindo, submitted as evidence to the Commission of Enquiry into the Lumpa Disturbances).

<sup>3</sup>. Interview Patrick Mutale Mushindo, Kitwe, September 1983.

Institution, was also appointed for this work. This was very strong staffing. It showed the concern of the Regional Council for meeting the challenge of the Lumpa Church.<sup>1</sup> Stone recently observed that the Church was 'profoundly shaken' in the 1950s, first by the rise of political nationalism ('politics'), second by the handing over of the mission schools to the LEAs, and thirdly by the 'Alice Movement.' Lubwa tried to learn from the success of the Lumpa Church. The Lumpa Church answered much better than Lubwa to the Presbyterian ideal of a self-supporting, self-governing, and self-extending church. Lumpa was a people's movement. The American missiologist MacGavran, an advocate of the 'church-growth method' of mission, criticized in his book *'Bridges of God,'* (1956) the mission station model of evangelization. He suggested instead the model of a people's movement. This book was studied immediately after its publication with great interest by the missionaries of Lubwa and by the church council. Up to now Lubwa had aimed at conversion of individuals, who were then taken out of their own community and taken up into the mission community. In the terminology of MacGavran a 'gathered colony church' was formed in this way. With the growth of schools and hospital work the mission station and the number of converts grew. But the 'bridges of God,' the family and clan relationships, were not crossed in evangelization. The missionaries brought in the western concept of individualism into a society where people think in groups (villages, families) as units.<sup>2</sup> The study of MacGavran and an analysis of the success of Lumpa led the missionaries of Lubwa to propose to end quickly the involvement of the Church with secular education and health work. Mission boards should send money and staff to churches which were 'people movements' and not to 'gathered colony churches' such as Lubwa. In future Lubwa would have to build the Church on the local congregation in the village, 'the whole congregation giving a witness by being people who worship God,

<sup>1</sup> W. Vernon Stone, 13-2-1989, in letter to author.

<sup>2</sup> MacGavran's method has similarities with the missionary method advocated by the founder of the White Fathers, Cardinal Lavigerie, in the 1870s and by Bishop Dupont at the beginning of the century. Dupont's motto was: 'the bull has to be taken by the horns,' i. e., the White Fathers' mission policy aimed at converting the chiefs; through them the fathers would get hold on the people.

rallying around its natural leaders, the unpaid local Elders.<sup>1</sup>

According to MacGavran, a 'people's movement church' had to have a growth of at least 50 % per decade. By this criterion the CCAR as a whole had clearly failed: between 1945 and 1955 its membership rose from 13,001 to 13,635, a net growth of only 3%.<sup>2</sup> Lubwa itself had done a little better: the number of communicant members rose from 3,004 in 1942 to 3,191 in 1953<sup>3</sup>: an increase of 6%. Yet this appears surprisingly modest when one compares the average annual number of adult baptisms - 260 during this period. This should have yielded an overall increase of at least 2,600. Besides, the average annual number of infants baptized was 240 in this period. This should have added a further 2,000 or so by 1952. It is not clear how and why Lubwa, and the CCAR as a whole, lost thousands of its members. As has been shown above more than 40 % of the male population of the district passed through Lubwa's educational system prior to 1955. Yet there was no equivalent gain in membership, even though it was the practice for children in the higher grades to be baptized. This could in part be explained by the disruptive influence of labour migration. In 1956, for instance, only 29 % of the adult males were living at home.<sup>4</sup> 70 % of the male population was permanently away and except for periods in between labour contracts was out of reach of Lubwa Mission and Church. Though there were churches in the towns of the Copperbelt and the line of rail these apparently failed to link up with many of these transient workers. There was no permanent consultation between the churches on the Copperbelt and those in the rural areas. An important link the people had with Lubwa was through the education or the employment Lubwa provided. Once one had left the educational system the connection with the church was apparently not continued.

<sup>1</sup>. LOA File: Church Correspondence etc. On Church Growth by R. J. Blaikie, Synod Clerk to DCC Clerks, Ministers-in-charge, 18-12-1956; UCZ 682 'Religious Work'-Presbytery circulars, 1956-7 Address by W. V. Stone, Lubwa, 22-4-1957, and summary of *The Bridges of God* by D. A. MacGavran, prepared in accordance with Minute 56/22 of Presbytery of CCAR; and UCZ 627 Circular Letter R. J. Blaikie 30-5-1957.

<sup>2</sup>. LOA File Church Correspondence, R. J. Blaikie, On Church Growth, 18-12-1956.

<sup>3</sup>. Excluding 248 in Kasama and 25 in Mpika.

<sup>4</sup>. Final totals of SNA forms 59 for 1956, in: Stuart Williams, 1962, 'The Distribution': Appendix 2.

From its early days Lubwa had emphasized the provision of education and health care. By the 1930s this had been so successful that the example was followed by the White Fathers mission. In the 1940s and 1950s the administrative burden of the running of schools, involving the employment of some one hundred teachers and other staff, led to a heavily institutionalized church. In so far as it received government grants, the Church in a way became an extension of the Government. When Lumpa seemed to provide a less formal type of church with indigenous forms of worship and a promise to address the fear for witchcraft, people deserted the mission church, although they continued to rely on it to meet their educational and medical needs. Challenged by the Lumpa Church, Lubwa now had to become, in the words of Stone, a church where every leader had to be 'filled with a burning desire to win his fellow Africans, and in particular his relatives, for Christ.' This would need prayer. It would need 'above all a knowledge of Jesus Christ as our Saviour and Lord, and a burning desire that others should share this wonderful salvation.'<sup>1</sup> A more vigorous evangelism would be possible with the loss of responsibilities for the running of the schools. At a meeting of Lubwa Church Council in 1959 (with two missionaries and three African church leaders present) fifty years of missionary effort of Lubwa were evaluated rather negatively. Lubwa Church was seen as an 'outside-run, outside-financed organisation,' and not as an institution clearly led by Africans. The great majority of the population contributed hardly anything to the Church. The Christian work at Lubwa was done by paid mission employees, and school class rooms were used for worship. The meeting also recommended that a real fellowship had to be created across racial barriers.<sup>2</sup> However most members of the church and also of the church council had come to take for granted a church model which integrated education, evangelisation and medical care. They resented the proposed

<sup>1</sup>. UCZ 682 W. V. Stone, 1957, The Bridges of God, being a summary of an address given to Lubwa DCC on 22-4-1957.

<sup>2</sup>. W. V. Stone, 1958, 'The "Alice Movement"': 10. Also: NAZ HM28 UN/1/22/7 'The Christian Conflict' - Report from Lubwa Station, 1958-1959 (at meeting of Lubwa Session with two missionaries and three African church leaders present).

changeover to MacGavran's model. Not much came from the proposal that Lubwa would indigenize its form of worship, something Maxwell Robertson had proposed, in vain, two decades earlier. In 1958 only ceremonies of seed blessing and thanksgiving services for the rains had been organized.<sup>1</sup>

The White Fathers also re-evaluated their mission efforts in view of the success of the Lumpa Church. Their analysis of the situation contrasted with that of Lubwa. They concluded that the Catholic approach to the Africans had been too intellectual. Religion had been mostly a matter of knowing the catechism in order to be admitted to the church. This had to be corrected. Concrete recommendations were:

- (1) the singing of Bemba tunes,
- (2) religious instruction should be given through hymns,
- (3) choirs should accompany tours of missionaries,
- (4) more participation of people in the liturgy was needed.

Dialogue masses and a translation of the ritual in ChiBemba had to be introduced,

- (5) Corpus Christi processions in the villages had to be organized as well as mass demonstrations like the Rosary Crusade of 1955. There people pledged to say the family rosary every day,
- (6) catechists had to go in groups of ten to fifteen to the villages for giving instruction.<sup>2</sup>

These were practical recommendations and not, as with Lubwa, a complete break with the past missionary policy. The fathers saw no danger in educational commitments. They even hoped to get the opportunity to take over schools from Lubwa when Lubwa would withdraw from education.<sup>3</sup>

Lubwa's change-over to new methods of mission and a new model for the church went very suddenly. By 1955 Lubwa still had a major share in education and in the health services in the district. By 1959 Lubwa had handed over all its schools to the Local Educational

<sup>1</sup>. NAZ HM 28 UN 8/2 CSM Northern Rhodesia Council Annual Report 1958, D. L. Wilson, Missionary-in-charge at Lubwa.

<sup>2</sup>. L. Oger, 1960, *Lumpa Church*: 19, 22-24.

<sup>3</sup>. WFA 52 164 Rapports Annuels Abercorn, 1954-1955: 5.

Authorities (Table XXI).

Pragmatic arguments

TABLE XXII: EDUCATION AT LUBWA, 1956-9

also contributed to

the final decision. In

Northern Rhodesia

the missions had to

pay 5/- per month (i.

e. £ 3 a year) of the

	1956	1957	1958	1959
Male pupils	320	302	200	
Female pupils	240	150	120	nil
Total	560	452	320	
Teachers	21	17	11	

pay of every teacher it employed. The FMC found it difficult to continue to pay this amount.<sup>1</sup> In July 1956 68 Church of Scotland schools in Serenje, Mpika, Chinsali and Isoka districts were transferred to the Local Education Authority.<sup>2</sup> The last school handed over was Lubwa School which was then the top of the educational pyramid in the district with two St. 5 and 6 classes and two St. 3 and 4 classes. There was in this case also pressure from the Secretary of African Education, because of the active role of pupils of Lubwa School in the political unrest in the area.<sup>3</sup> When Lubwa handed over the management of schools it insisted on the 'right of entry' into the schools for pastoral care of the pupils. Lubwa also retained the right to determine the books and the syllabus for religious instruction in the schools.<sup>4</sup>

The CCAR took over teacher-training from Lubwa Training School when it was closed in 1959, thirty years after its establishment by

<sup>1</sup>. Rev. W. V. Stone, in letter to author, 13-2-1989. In Nyasaland the Government paid a 100 % grant for education; the Church of Scotland continued there its involvement in education. It is not clear why these relative small amounts were so difficult to pay for the mission: the salary of one single missionary ranged from £ 540 to £ 580 per annum in 1958 (for married men) (NAZ HM28 UN/1/9 CSM. Livingstonia (Rhodesia) Missionaries Committee, Rev. J. A. R. Watt, 28-11-1958). Lubwa employed in 1959 two theologically trained missionaries, John Fraser and W. Vernon Stone, a medical missionary, David Wilson, a nurse, Johan Smith, a teacher, Evelyn West and Muriel Reid, who was responsible for social and evangelistic work with African women (*Report to the General Assembly, FMC, 1959*).

<sup>2</sup>. UCZ 597 Director of African Education E. G. Goddard to secretary of Mission Council, F. Macpherson, Mwenzo, 11-7-1956.

<sup>3</sup>. NAZ HM28 UN1/22/4 J. A. R. Weir to D. L. Wilson, Lubwa, 2-7-1959; and J. A. R. Watt to E. Weir, Mwenzo, 23-7-1959. Watt refers to a secret white paper of the government about the Church of Scotland Mission, which formed the basis of the negative attitude of government towards Lubwa. I have not been able to trace this paper.

<sup>4</sup>. UCZ 771 Staff Meeting, 10-2-1956.



Rev. Maxwell Robertson.<sup>1</sup> In 1958 the CCAR built, at a cost of £ 125,000, the Malcolm Moffat Teacher Training College in Serenje. It could accommodate 150 students. A further £ 100,000 from the Northern Province Development Funds was needed to extend the accommodation to 250 students.<sup>2</sup> In 1961 Rev. William McKenzie, who had succeeded Vernon Stone as missionary-in-charge at Lubwa in January 1960, proposed in the Northern Province Educational Authority (NPEA) to build a government secondary school at Lubwa. But the fear that Chinsali would remain 'a political hotbed' led the NPEA to the decision to locate a secondary school in Isoka and not in Chinsali.<sup>3</sup>

As with the decision to hand over school management, financial considerations turned the balance in the decision of the FMC to close Lubwa and Mwenzo hospitals. In 1955-56 the responsibility for the provision of medical services was taken over by the Federal Government in Salisbury. Before 1955 the Northern Rhodesia Government had paid excellent grants covering the whole cost to the mission, except the salaries of the missionaries. The Federal Government paid only half the costs of equipment such as blankets, and  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the costs of drugs. This led to a new financial burden for the Church of Scotland at a time when it wanted to reduce its commitments overseas.<sup>4</sup>

These decisions to withdraw from education and health services met with strong local opposition. In April 1959 Lubwa Church Council protested against the proposed closure of Lubwa Hospital in letters to the General Secretary of the Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland, to the Director of Medical Services, Lusaka and to Sir John Moffat of the Central Africa Party. In the opinion of the church council the closing of the hospital would 'take us back to where we were before

<sup>1</sup>. Its last Principal, Yonam Mpuku, went into government service. In 1961 he worked at the boma in Mpika (LOA File: Church Correspondence).

<sup>2</sup>. *Report to the General Assembly, FMC, 1959*: 458, and NAZ HM 28 UN/1/9 CSM in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, Regional Committee, Blantyre, 24 to 30-8-1956. For a history of Malcolm Moffatt Teacher Training College: A. G. Buckle, 1976, *A History of Serenje District*: 88-90.

<sup>3</sup>. Minutes of the 17 th Meeting of Northern Province Education Authority, 2-11-1961, with P. D. Snelson as PEO, and ARNE, 1961: 3. After Independence Government built the Kenneth Kaunda Secondary School on an unused piece of land of Lubwa Mission.

<sup>4</sup>. Rev. W. V. Stone, in letter to author, 13-2-1989.

the Missionaries (of the Church of Scotland) came here.<sup>1</sup> The church council continued to believe in the integration of evangelical, educational and medical work, which had been the basis of the mission work of Livingstonia from its foundation. In May 1960 Malami Sokoni and Kedrick Sankalimba, local leaders of the recently formed United National Independence Party (UNIP), also argued against closing of Lubwa Hospital. They stressed the link between church and hospital: 'You should realise that not only the institution (i. e. the hospital), but also the Church will close down in this District and the name of the CS [= Church of Scotland] will disappear too...'<sup>2</sup> Parents also protested against the withdrawal of the mission from education. In Chitambo parents argued in March 1957 that for girls as 'mothers of the future generation' only education at mission girls' schools was suitable. They even threatened to leave the Presbyterian church and join the Roman Catholic Church, which they thought was anxious to open schools in the area.<sup>3</sup> The Church of Scotland wanted to withdraw from Lubwa Hospital on 31 August 1961. As an interim measure, till the new hospital at the boma was finished, the government would take over the hospital.<sup>4</sup> Malcolm Moffat MB, Ch. B., who had replaced David Wilson in 1959, served as the last doctor of Lubwa Hospital. At least some people in the district may have interpreted the withdrawal of Lubwa Mission from education and health services as a punishment for their desertion of Lubwa in favour of Lumpa.

### 5. The Political Crisis and the mission, 1954-1964

In the period under review Lubwa Mission and Lubwa Church also had

<sup>1</sup>. NAZ HM 28 UN 1/11 Lubwa DCC to Sir John Moffat, Lusaka, 14-4-1959. The letter was signed by: Y. Mpuku, secretary; P. B. Mushindo, moderator; T. M. Sabi, clerk of DCC, and R. C. Mulenga, member.

<sup>2</sup>. NAZ HM 28 UN 1/22/4 Malami Sokoni and Kedrick Sankalimba, Chinsali, 24-5-1960, to CCAR, Lubwa Mission.

<sup>3</sup>. NAZ HM 28 UN 1/22/7 Parent and teachers of Chitambo, 29-3-1957 to the Secretary of the Joint Mission Council, Livingstonia Mission, Church of Scotland.

<sup>4</sup>. LOA File: Mission Medical Returns. PMO to W. M. U. Moffat, 2-2-1961. This means that Lubwa Hospital was available for the casualties in the *Cha-Cha-Cha* campaign of August, September and October 1961. It is striking to note that in the same period, in 1956, the White Fathers opened a new hospital in Chilonga, south of Mpika.

to meet the challenge of a rapidly radicalizing political movement for home rule and independence. Several of the leaders at provincial and district level of the African National Congress had been students of Lubwa, but had been alienated from the Church. The provincial organizer in Northern Province in the period 1953 to 1960 was the former Lubwa teacher and church elder Robert Makasa. He had left the CCAR for the African Methodist Episcopal Church. John Malami Sokoni, another Lubwa graduate, was Provincial Treasurer of the African National Congress. He was also a member of the African Representative Council (ARC).<sup>1</sup>

In 1954 Congress began to challenge Native Authority decisions.<sup>2</sup> Attempts were made 'to interfere with customary obligations and duties.' In April 1955 the Chinsali District Committee of Congress formed six action groups to precede government officers on tours persuading villagers not to show respect to Native Authority and boma officials, and to refuse them food, water and firewood.<sup>3</sup> This action of Congress was successful and as a punishment the large village of Masandiko on the borders of Chinsali Township was removed and a platoon of the Mobile Unit visited the district.<sup>4</sup> In 1955 ANC organized a consumer boycott against the Thom Stores in Northern Province, because of the racialism of its owner, Ejna Orne-Gliemann. In Chinsali one of Thom's shops was burnt down by Mwamba Kosamu, a member of the youth wing of Congress.<sup>5</sup> In the following years Congress again tried to organize a campaign of non-cooperation towards touring government officers, by refusing them the usual hospitality and the organized welcome in the village they visited. John Sokoni was actively involved in this campaign in 1957.<sup>6</sup> Political activity in the district got a new impetus when a number of leading ANC members were restricted under Emergency Powers legislation, and sent back to their home districts.

<sup>1</sup>. Kapasa Makasa, 1981, *March*: 53.

<sup>2</sup>. ARNA, 1954: 30.

<sup>3</sup>. David Mulford, 1967, *Zambia*: 39.

<sup>4</sup>. ARNA, 1955: 26-7.

<sup>5</sup>. Kapasa Makasa, 1981, *March*: 48.

<sup>6</sup>. NAZ SEC 2/762 No 4/1957 Chibesakunda.

Among these were: Kenneth Kaunda, Living Makonda, Lameck Chisanga and Michael Mweshi. They had been the leaders of the disturbances on the Copperbelt in 1956.<sup>1</sup> Native Authority orders for early burning to prevent soil erosion were boycotted and Congress encouraged people to burn the bush for clearing the land at any time of the year.<sup>2</sup> Other soil conservation measures and land development efforts of the Government were boycotted because it was feared that these would lead to an influx of European settlers. The poster of the Information Department: 'Look after your soil and the soil will look after you,' was 'translated' by ANC into: 'Look after your land or the Europeans will take it from you.'<sup>3</sup>

In October 1958 Kenneth Kaunda and other radicals left ANC on the issue of its participation in the elections which allowed the vote to only 25,000 Africans. Kaunda's new party, the Zambia African National Congress (ZANC) boycotted the elections. In Chinsali District, and also in Kasama, Luwingu and Kawambwa districts, the elections, early in 1959, led to violence. In April a kraal at Lubwa was burned down, as were six other buildings. Nineteen people were arrested, and these received heavy prison sentences ranging from seven to eleven years. As a reaction to these sentences there were new cases of arson against the houses and courts of Chief Nkweto and Chief Chibesakunda. The house of a Roman Catholic headmaster, who had voted, was also burned.<sup>4</sup> It was young people in the age group 18 to 30 who were most active in the nationalist movement. Chinsali District had many schoolleavers. In 1959 200 young people in the district left school with St. 6, and many more with St. 2 and 4.<sup>5</sup> They were unable to find employment. They remained in the villages, but were discontented with their subordinate role in a system which based authority on descent and on age, and not on educational level achieved. ZANC gave them a purpose, an ideal, African independence, and an ideology which gave legitimation to a violent

<sup>1</sup>. ARNA, 1957: 29.

<sup>2</sup>. NAZ SEC 2/763 No 11 Mukwikile, Nov. 1957.

<sup>3</sup>. NAZ SEC 2/763 1958 Tour near Mulanga.

<sup>4</sup>. NAZ HM 28 un 1/11 David Wilson, Lubwa, to George, 25-4-1959 and Church of Scotland Mission Northern Rhodesia Council to Africa Secretary (John), 27-4-1959.

<sup>5</sup>. NAZ SEC 2/764 Tour Report No. 20 of November 1959, W. Chibesakunda, J. S. Crozier, Cadet; and No. 23 Lubwa-Ilondola road, Nov.-Dec. 1959, J. W. Hannah.

protest against native authorities and elders. The ZANC youth differed from the adherents and leaders of the Lumpa Church. Few leaders of Lumpa had a good education. Lenshina herself was probably illiterate, while the majority of the adherents were women, with limited access to education and to modern institutions.<sup>1</sup>

At the end of 1959 the United National Independence Party (UNIP) was formed out of ZANC, which had been banned. In 1960 the people of the district almost to a man refused to pay tax.<sup>2</sup> In August and September 1961 UNIP organized its biggest campaign of civil disobedience against the MacLeod amendments to the proposed Northern Rhodesian Constitution. This was the so-called Cha-Cha-Cha Campaign.<sup>3</sup> Roads were blocked, bridges destroyed, cars stoned, schools and dispensaries burnt down. At Shiwa Ng'andu the Timba School was razed by fire, the Mpandala bridge cut and burnt, the Manshya drift demolished and a store looted.<sup>4</sup> In September at Mulanga Mission all the station buildings except the church were destroyed by arson. At Ilondola a cattle kraal and a Booth's store were burnt.<sup>5</sup> Killings also took place.<sup>6</sup> Chinsali now proved its reputation of being one of the most politicized districts. In the two months of the Cha-Cha-Cha Campaign 47 primary schools were burnt down in the territory; as many as 27 of these were burnt down in Chinsali District. On 24 August already 50 % (22) of all the schools of the district were destroyed affecting over 3,000 children.<sup>7</sup> That so much destruction took place in this district could be viewed as a kind of a selfsacrificial action by the leaders of UNIP as many of them came from Chinsali. As a direct result of this campaign the proposed

<sup>1</sup>. In 1960 some of the more educated members of Lumpa were expelled [UCZ 618 UCCAR Northern Presbytery, Life and Work Reports, Lubwa 1960]. This strengthened the profile of Lumpa as a movement of the uneducated.

<sup>2</sup>. NAZ SEC 2/766 Tour Report No. 8 Nkula 1960 G. G. Davies, DC.

<sup>3</sup>. In 1961 Macleod, the Colonial Secretary, had proposed a constitution for Northern Rhodesia which would have made an African majority in the legislature possible and secession from the Federation possible. In June 1961 under pressure of Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, riders were introduced in the Constitution which were in favour of the Europeans.

<sup>4</sup>. R. I. Rotberg, 1977, *Black Heart*: 316.

<sup>5</sup>. B. Garvey, 1974, 'The Development': 382.

<sup>6</sup>. NAZ HM 28 UN 1/10 Church of Scotland FMC/WFM, (160021)

<sup>7</sup>. LOA File: Education, 1954 - ; see also an extensive account of the events in WFA Mulanga Diary, August 1961 (written by Hugo Hinfelaar).

constitution was changed in such a way that an African majority government and secession from the Federation was possible. From April to June 1962 voter registration took place for the October elections. The elections were a victory for UNIP which gave UNIP 14, the United Federal Party (UFP) 15 and the ANC 5 seats in the Legislative Council. ANC and UNIP each got three seats in the Government, with another three seats for the Officials.<sup>1</sup> Two graduates of Lubwa Training School, former teachers of Lubwa Mission, joined the first African Government on 16 December 1962: Kenneth Kaunda became Minister of Local Government and Simon Kapwepwe Minister of Agriculture.

The District Notebook and the tour reports of government officials give contradictory accounts of the attitude of the Lumpa Church towards these political developments. Generally speaking Lumpa was seen as a moderating influence. In 1956 when Congress called for a boycott of touring officers the followers of the Lumpa Church proved to be 'most respectful and helpful.'<sup>2</sup> In 1957 John Sokoni organized a political rally of Congress near Lubwa, but people did not turn up, saying that they now followed Lenshina and had no interest in Congress.<sup>3</sup> The Lumpa Church had two major clashes with police and government officers. The first clash was in September 1956 when Petros and 64 others were arrested for holding a protest demonstration to secure the release of Joseph Mumba, a Lumpa member, who had been charged with the criminal offence of calling Fr. Kakokota a witch. Petros, who had organized the demonstration, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment with hard labour and to another six months by the Native Authority Court of Chitimukulu.<sup>4</sup> He was released just before the opening of the big new church in Kasomo in 1959. In that year Lumpa had its second conflict with Government. In April 1959 Nkula wanted to disperse those

<sup>1</sup>. D. C. Mulford, 1964, *The Northern Rhodesia General Election, 1962*, Nairobi: 200-201.

<sup>2</sup>. NAZ SEC 2/103 1956 Annual Report Chinsali.

<sup>3</sup>. NAZ SEC 2/762, 20-3-1957.

<sup>4</sup>. A. D. Roberts, 1972 (1970), 'The Lumpa Church': 22, and J. L. Calmettes, 1978, 'The Lumpa Sect': 16-17. Congress kept a neutral stand in this conflict between Lumpa and the local government (RHL Heathcote: *Northern Province News*, 22-1-1957, half year ending 31-12-1956: 1). Also: Christine Heward, 1964, 'The Rise': 7.

inhabitants of Sione who had not registered their move to Sione. He sent his kapasus to collect these people. These were however chased away. On 7 May the Chinsali DC, I. M. Edye, went personally to Sione to order the people to register their change of village. A crowd of 300 attacked the police; five Lumpa followers and five police had to be admitted to the hospital. Men were convicted for illegal residence at Kasomo; the women were allowed to go with a warning from Chief Nkula. Alice fled to Lundazi District.<sup>1</sup>

The antagonistic attitude of Chief Nkula came after Lenshina had applied for a Right of Occupancy for her headquarters at Kasomo. The application was refused, but the chief regarded Kasomo now as a challenge to his authority.<sup>2</sup> In and around Kasomo Lenshina had control of a large number of people, and in general her authority and her life style were similar to that of a chief. She lived in a 'palace,' with access to tribute labour and with unchallenged authority, based on a presumed immediate contact with the supernatural. With the aid of voluntary labour she had built the biggest church in the province, the second biggest church in the Territory. At the end of 1959 the Lumpa Church began to use church buildings as court rooms to hear inheritance cases and to liberate widows from the customary sexual obligations.<sup>3</sup> This was another intrusion by Lumpa upon the prerogatives of the chief (and of male relatives!).

Generally speaking the Lumpa Church tried to avoid conflict with the colonial government in as far as this was possible. By 1959 five branches of the Lumpa Church had complied with government regulations and were duly registered under the Societies Ordinance.

<sup>1</sup>. J. L. Calmettes, 1978, 'The Lumpa Sect': 26-27; ARNA, 1959: 25; NAZ SEC 2/105 and 106 Annual Report African Affairs Chinsali, 1959 and 1960, and EUL Kenneth MacKenzie's Papers. I. M. Edye had just been appointed as DC, taking over from D. F. Frost, who had spent only five months as Chinsali DC (NAZ SEC 2/105 of 1959). Edye left Chinsali at the end of January 1960. J. C. Griffiths took over till 13 August 1960; then G. G. Davis became DC. Between 1950 and 1963 Chinsali had fourteen different officials as DC (A. D. Roberts, 1972 [1970], 'The Lumpa Church': 34). The rapid change-over of DCs, who may have feared for their career when staying too long in a trouble spot such as Chinsali District, did not provide a good basis for a careful and balanced handling of the religious and political conflicts in the district.

<sup>2</sup>. NAZ SEC 2/105, 1959.

<sup>3</sup>. NAZ SEC 2/764 Tour Report No 21, Nkula by H. M. Chintu.

These were the branches of Chinsali at Kasomo, of Lusaka, of Kasama, of Broken Hill Urban and of Broken Hill Rural.<sup>1</sup> Lehmann described the church in 1961 as 'strongly pietistic and other worldly.'<sup>2</sup> In as far as the Lumpa Church promised to eradicate witchcraft, supposedly the root cause of bad luck, evil and disease, Lumpa could be called a 'healing church.' Its baptism suggested that people who received it were cleansed and healed from witchcraft and its consequences. The Lumpa Church had in common with other 'healing churches' an indifference towards the political system in which it operates. Its worries were 'not of this world.'<sup>3</sup> Initially the Lumpa Church had a 'social gospel' character. It had built up its own organizational infrastructure, independent of churches overseas, independent of government. The Church had its own sources of income and was financially completely self-supporting. Some of the aggression against Lumpa by young men of UNIP may have been due to the fact that Lumpa could be seen as a protest movement of women against their gradually deteriorating position.<sup>4</sup> In the late 1950s there was increased male labour migration away from the district (see Appendix VII). It led to an unbalanced sex ratio. The struggle between Lumpa and UNIP may thus have been also a struggle over the control of rural women and their sexuality.<sup>5</sup> Lenshina herself, in 1977, also put

<sup>1</sup>. *Northern Rhodesia Gazette*, 1 May 1959: 307. The Lundazi Branch refused to register in that year and deacons were fined. When they refused to pay the fines they were imprisoned (J. L. Calmettes, 1978, 'The Lumpa Sect': 27). According to Calmettes (1978: 37) there were as many as sixty Lumpa Churches in Chinsali District which had registered with the Registrar of Societies.

<sup>2</sup>. J. V. Taylor, and D. Lehmann, 1961: *Christians*: 165-166, quoted with agreement in A. D. Roberts, 1972 (1970), 'The Lumpa Church': 28.

<sup>3</sup>. J. M. Schoffeleers, 1988, 'Gebedsgenezing en Politiek: De Medicalisering van het Christendom in Zuid-Afrika', valedictory lecture, Free University, Amsterdam (unpublished): 10-11. These healing churches like the Lumpa Church in the 1950s and the Zionist Churches at present in South Africa are 'political' in a different sense in that they give a feeling of selfconfidence to their members, opportunities for leadership, ranks, status and in general 'a place to feel at home.' If we accept the pluralist model of MacGaffey we can not make a watertight division between healing churches and other types of churches.

<sup>4</sup>. Hugo Hinfelaar sees Lumpa as an effort to reestablish the ancient house cult and the marriage ethics connected with it. This was an area neglected by the Roman Catholic Church as well as by Lubwa Church, with its (male) elders and patriarchal ideas from Scotland (Hugo Hinfelaar, 'Alice Lenshina Mulenga-De Noodkreet van een Zambiaanse Profetes', in: *Wereld en Zending*, 14, 3: 228-232; 1989, 'Religious Change': 110-150).

<sup>5</sup>. There were rumours that the deacons of the Lumpa Church used the widows, liberated from their customary sexual obligations, for their own sexual gratification (H. M. Chintu, Tour Report No 21, Nkula, NAZ SEC 2/764).



the blame for the clashes between Lumpa and UNIP on 'immoral young men,' who were 'too much occupied with politics.'<sup>1</sup>

Lubwa Mission, Lubwa Church and the CCAR slowly came to terms with the nationalist movement represented by ANC, ZANC and UNIP. The CCAR was more open to the political aspirations of the African population than other churches. A pioneer nationalist, W. Sikalumbi, even maintained that *only* the CCAR, led by Kenneth MacKenzie, had opposed the imposition of Federation in 1953.<sup>2</sup> In 1954 the CCAR formed a Committee on Social and National Questions in order 'to watch over developments in the national life in which moral and spiritual considerations arise.'<sup>3</sup> In 1957 the Presbytery of the CCAR issued a public statement asking for representation of all races in political parties, municipal authorities and interest groups.<sup>4</sup> Kenneth MacKenzie also advocated the African cause when back home in Scotland, where he served as chairman of the Edinburgh Branch of the Scottish Council for African Questions (SCAQ). The SCAQ was in close contact with Simon Kapwepwe, who asked MacKenzie to exert pressure on MPs and to send delegations to London.<sup>5</sup> The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland formed a Special Committee Anent Central Africa with George Macleod as Convener and Kenneth MacKenzie as Secretary.<sup>6</sup> In Chinsali District itself it took some time before there was a something like a *rapprochement* between Lubwa and the ANC, and later UNIP. In 1958 Lubwa still had little association with the nationalist movement, even though many of the leaders had a background of education at Lubwa. Several of these had come under church discipline. This made contact with Lubwa Church still more difficult. UNIP boycotted in 1960 the

<sup>1</sup>. Hugo Hinfelaar, 1989, 'Religious Change': 111. Fr. Hinfelaar had in October 1977 a short interview with Lenshina in Lusaka.

<sup>2</sup>. Wittington Sikalumbi, 1977, *Before UNIP*, Lusaka: 16. Kenneth MacKenzie was Clerk of the CCAR. He served at Lubwa from 1948 to 1952 and at Chitambo from 1952 to 1956.

<sup>3</sup>. *Minutes of Presbytery*, 1954 MP 54/24. The Church of Scotland missionary George Fraser of the UMCB was a member of this Committee.

<sup>4</sup>. *Minutes of Presbytery*, 1957 MP 57/86.

<sup>5</sup>. EUL Kenneth MacKenzie Papers Letter from Simon Kapwepwe to Kenneth MacKenzie, no date (1959?). Makasa in his autobiography also speaks about Kenneth MacKenzie as 'one of our supporters in England' (Kapasa Makasa, 1981, *March*: 66).

<sup>6</sup>. Report to the General Assembly, FMC, 1959.

Monckton Commission, which had to determine African opinion regarding the future of the Central African Federation. In Chinsali very few gave evidence. Among those who did were Paul Mushindo and William McKenzie, who had replaced Vernon Stone as missionary-in-charge at Lubwa in January 1960. Both declared themselves against Federation, as it was imposed against the will of the Africans, and in favour of an extension of the franchise to everybody over the age of 21. Both clearly expressed the views of UNIP on these issues.<sup>1</sup>

June 1960 may well have been the turning point in the relations between Lubwa and UNIP. On 28 June 1960 Kenneth Kaunda, President of UNIP, wanted to have a public meeting at Nkula's village, but the Chief served him with a 'deportation order' to leave the village, before the meeting started. The next day Lubwa Church offered the church building to him, although he was still banned from having public meetings. The meeting was in the form of a church service in which Kaunda gave a one-hour 'sermon' on non-violence and on the need to fight for independence without shedding blood. It is striking that Kenneth Kaunda did not go to Kasomo, where he probably could have had a larger audience, and where his brother Robert was Senior Deacon and his mother, Helen Kaunda, a member. However, members of the Lumpa Church still attended the meeting in the church at Lubwa. The Chinsali DC, Mr. Davies, castigated McKenzie for his part in organising the meeting and in retaliation prevented him from using the boma buildings for the English language church service on Sunday.<sup>2</sup> McKenzie began to get the reputation of being pro-UNIP.<sup>3</sup> His political stand had the support of the Foreign Mission Committee, which told the missionaries that in the British colonies and protectorates they had the same responsibility to exercise

<sup>1</sup>. WM Evidence of the Ministers of Lubwa Mission of the Church of Scotland and of the United Church of Central Africa in Rhodesia, 29 January 1960, P. B. Mushindo, African Minister and William M. McKenzie, European Minister.

<sup>2</sup>. WM W. McKenzie to Mr. Davies, draft letter, n. d.; F. Macpherson, 1974, *Kenneth Kaunda*: 359-360 and TI W. McKenzie, 12-1-1981.

<sup>3</sup>. He was nicknamed 'Mr. UNIP.' The European congregation in Kasama asked him to lead a church service, but with the express condition that he would preach 'about spiritual things only' (LOA File: Church Correspondence, William McKenzie to Mrs. Riley, Interdenominational Church, Kasama, 23-8-1962, and TI William McKenzie, Dumfries, 12-1-1981).

their privileges as a citizen as at home. This did not mean that the local Church should keep aloof from politics, as this was not the tradition of the Church of Scotland either.<sup>1</sup> This contrasts with the Roman Catholic attitude. In 1961 Bishop Fürstenberg issued a circular in which he advised catechists not to become members of political parties, and Catholic Action leaders not to take offices in them.<sup>2</sup> Some Roman Catholics identified UNIP so much with Lubwa that they told other Roman Catholics not to vote for Kaunda in the 1962 elections because if he won he would bring Lubwa Church back to life.<sup>3</sup> From 1960, onwards, at least some UNIP leaders in the district were at the same time active church members. Sumaili, a trustee of UNIP in Mpika, was a church elder. The UNIP youth leaders, Andrew Mwenya, Andrew Muntemba, and Willy Ng'ona were active church members of the UCCAR.<sup>4</sup>

In 1959 the Council of the Church of Scotland Mission, Northern Rhodesia, had decided not to renew the contract of Rev. John Fraser. The new policy of Lubwa, centring the Church on village churches, demanded heavy touring, it was argued. Fraser would not be able to tour as heavily as desired.<sup>5</sup> Behind this there was a conflict about theology. Fraser represented a fundamentalist theology, while most of the other Church of Scotland missionaries represented a more liberal or an openly evangelical theology. Fraser advocated, as we have seen before, Christ-centered scriptural obedience, within the existing church structure, as a precondition for church membership. However, most Church of Scotland

<sup>1</sup>. NAZ HM 28 UN 1/10 CS/WFM, 26-7-1961 Amendments proposed in regulation Political Affairs No 32 in Foreign Mission Regulations and No. 16 in Women's Foreign Mission.

<sup>2</sup>. Circular 11/61 Abercorn Vicariate, 11-8-1961, in: Brian Garvey, 1974, 'The Development': 78.

<sup>3</sup>. LOA File: Church Correspondence J. Chanda, Kopa LEA School to Rev. MacKenzie, Lubwa, 6-6-1962. The father concerned advised his flock to vote ANC and to read *Leader*, a Roman Catholic newspaper, in stead of *African Mail*, considered to be pro-UNIP. Kenneth Kaunda did in fact try to honour the place where he was born, educated and where he had worked by making the place where the house in which he was born a national monument (a plaque site) and by establishing a secondary school bearing his name near Lubwa.

<sup>4</sup>. TI W. McKenzie, Dumfries, 12-1-1981.

<sup>5</sup>. NAZ HM 28 UN 1/22/4 (MS/1A) FMC, 1959-1961: CSM Northern Rhodesia Council (NRC), Minutes and covering letters to FMC (Africa and Jamaica Secretary) and incoming mail from FMC. Minutes of CSM, NRC, 6-10-1959 Executive Committee.

missionaries in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland now saw church growth in terms of building a church based on the village structure of the district in order to bring the Church as close as possible to the people. The pastoral and evangelistic work of the Church should be done by church members on a voluntary basis. Rev. Vernon Stone, an ardent advocate of this approach, was appointed missionary-in-charge on his return from his homeleave in June 1959. When Stone was appointed Principal of the new Theological Training College of the UCCAR at Mindolo, Kitwe in January 1960, William McKenzie succeeded him as missionary-in-charge at Lubwa. He was also a protagonist of the policy of the establishment of small village churches all over the district.

With the evangelistic campaign of 1955 Lubwa had placed her members in a harsh dilemma: to choose for Lubwa and against Lumpa or to get expelled from the Church. Those who could not make that choice in public at that particular time were, with immediate effect, no longer considered church members of Lubwa Church. Many of those who were expelled because they failed to come forward in favour of Lubwa must still have felt sympathy for Lubwa, which had provided the highly valued medical and educational services for such a long time. From 1960 onwards Mushindo and McKenzie were engaged in extensive touring. Gradually small numbers of people returned to Lubwa Church from Lumpa. It was the better-educated people who came back first. This was when the Lumpa Church began to reject its educated leaders like Sundie Rain and Robert Kaunda.<sup>1</sup> This could have been an indication of the beginning of a new stage in the development of the Lumpa Church and its relationship with UNIP and with Lubwa. From the early 1960s support for Lubwa began to revive. In 1960 it had four brick churches and ten pole-and-mud churches, of which three had been built in that

<sup>1</sup>. UCZ 618 UCCAR Northern Presbytery, Life and Work Reports, Lubwa 1960, missionary-in-charge, Rev. W. McKenzie. Also: information given by Patrick Mutale Mushindo, Kitwe, Sept. 1983. The leading Lumpa member who returned in 1960 to Lubwa, mentioned by McKenzie, could well have been Sundie Rain of Mafupa Village. According to Macpherson (1974, *Kenneth Kaunda*: 443) Robert Kaunda retained his position in the Lumpa Church right to the banning of the church by his brother Kenneth on 3 August 1964. According to Robert's own account he left the Lumpa Church, when it began to set up its own Lumpa villages where non-Lumpas were not allowed (Interview Robert Kaunda, 8-12-1979).

year. Lubwa Mission still employed thirteen evangelists, though for financial reasons they were employed only six months of the year. In 1961 for financial and strategic reasons the local evangelists were made redundant, which led again to a partial and temporary exodus such as the teachers had already made before, when the schools were handed over to the government.<sup>1</sup> In October 1961 the Church organized the first of several evangelistic training courses ('rallies') in Lubwa with Bible study groups, lectures on 'what we believe', 'Christian giving', 'the Church and politics,'[!] and Sunday Schools. About 70 people attended the course.

Women were conspicuous in this revival of Lubwa. Already in 1948 a Women's Guild functioned in Lubwa.<sup>2</sup> In 1955 the Women's Guild was transformed into the Kwafwane (kwa) Banamayo Bena Kristu (KBBK).<sup>3</sup> The KBBK had the following aims: (a) to be a meeting of Christian fellowship, (b) to provide an opportunity for Christian instruction, (c) to form a way of expressing beliefs in practical service, and (d) to be a meeting place for women outside the Church to meet Christian women and be introduced to the Christian way of life.<sup>4</sup> In 1959 the KBBK had five groups in the district. It organized prayer meetings, which provided a 'real point of contact' with the women from the Lumpa Church.<sup>5</sup> In 1960 Lubwa had already ten KBBK groups. Leadership was a problem as it was difficult to find women who were literate.<sup>6</sup> The Presbytery also took action to have more women in the decision-making bodies of the Church. In 1959, for instance, a resolution was accepted by the Presbytery that women should be better represented at Presbytery level. Those DCCs which were sending three or more delegates had to send at least one woman.<sup>7</sup> From the early 1960s the

<sup>1</sup>. B. MacKenzie, 1974, 'The Church in Rural Zambia Since Independence'.

<sup>2</sup>. *Minutes of Presbytery*, 1948, MP48/19.

<sup>3</sup>. LOA File: Church Correspondence, Lubwa DCC Life and Work Report, 1961 (T. M. Sabi, Clerk, P. B. Mushindo, Minister, W. M. McKenzie, Head of Station). KBBK = Christian Women (mothers) Helping Each Other.

<sup>4</sup>. *Minutes of Presbytery*, 1956, MP56/45.

<sup>5</sup>. LOA File: Church Correspondence, Lubwa DCC Report 1959.

<sup>6</sup>. LOA File: Church Correspondence, Lubwa Report 1960.

<sup>7</sup>. *Minutes of Presbytery*, 1959, MP 59/17, and CCAR Minutes 54/68, 55/14, 56/17).

Church became in practice a church for women by women, though the traditional patriarchal structure of the Presbyterian church changed only slowly. Women were the permanent factor in the district, while men in the age group 20 to 35, where they could have been useful for the church, left the district for long periods in search of work. Church elders increasingly were older men who had retired in the district and no longer people who were employed by the mission in its educational, evangelistic and medical work.

The period under review also witnessed the integration of mission and Church, another factor in the revival of Lubwa. Mission and Church had always been interwoven. The mission of the Church of Scotland aimed at the formation of a separate indigenous Church. But mission and Church showed also stark contrasts. The mission was apparently rich and owned buildings like the hospital, the schools, and the big missionaries' houses on the hill. Money came from abroad and from Government. The Church was poor and had a very small annual income, which came mainly from church collections and voluntary contributions. The Church had an all-African Church Council, while the mission had only Europeans on its board. In 1956 the Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee, that is the Northern Rhodesia Council of the Church of Scotland, expressed the strong desire to be dissolved and to transfer functions to the CCAR Presbytery. The Presbytery initially hesitated to accept the offer as it felt not yet ready for such responsibilities.<sup>1</sup> However with the increased confidence of the Africans and the gaining of momentum of the nationalist movement, the African Christians began to demand a take-over of responsibilities from Europeans. It still proved to be a long and painful process as differing types of management styles clashed. Europeans expressed distrust at African capabilities of maintaining the mission property well.<sup>2</sup> In July 1957 the CCAR Presbytery expressed the wish that all the work of the

<sup>1</sup> *Minutes of Presbytery, 1956, MP56/18.*

<sup>2</sup> W. McKenzie said in 1974: '(After 1965) Church property, which had been quite extensive, fell into disrepair and in many cases became unusable. 75 % of all income was swallowed up in running landrovers and vanettes or in allowing for depreciation on them' (B. McKenzie, 1974, 'The Church in Rural Zambia').

Joint Mission Councils, which were responsible to bodies outside Northern Rhodesia, would come under Presbytery control as soon as possible. European missionaries had 'to lose themselves in the *Church*, which under God, has come into being through their labours...' <sup>1</sup> In 1961 mission and Church were completely integrated.

The new policy of the formation of village churches and the organisation of voluntary work, especially that done by women, began to bear fruit. In January 1962 the church elder, Napoleon Chiunda, formed at his own initiative a Church at the village of Bisa Chief Kopa. A new consistory at Mpika, serving Kopa, Chikwanda, Nabwalya and other places in Mpika District, was established. Lubwa District Church Council had then six consistories, namely Lubwa, Nkula, Mwenge, Mundu, Shiwa Ng'andu and Chibesakunda. <sup>2</sup> Another church elder, a teacher at an LEA school, continued to organize church services when he was transferred to Chikwanda School, an area hitherto served by the Roman Catholic Chilonga Mission. Chief Chikwanda, two court members and all the teachers of the school attended these services. <sup>3</sup> In June 1963 a group of ten students of the UCCAR Theological College at Mindolo (Kitwe), led by Rev. W. V. Stone, held an evangelistic campaign in the district. As a result of the campaign a new sun-dried brick church was opened at Kabanda, and mud-and-thatch churches at Pensulo, Mufulweni, Shiwalala and Suluka. A Synod Evangelist was posted at Chikwanda.

The revival of support for Lubwa reflected, at least in part, a decline in support for the Lumpa Church. In the course of 1963, 176 Lumpa followers returned to Lubwa and Lumpa church buildings were offered to Lubwa. Three villages expressed a wish to return to the UCCAR and their people were gathered for a church service. Psalm 32 was read

<sup>1</sup>. The joint Councils were formed out of missionaries from the LMS and the CS together with the Copperbelt Liason Committee. It consisted of 18 to 19 people, half of them Europeans, half Africans (NAZ HM 28/UN 1/17 Integration Oct. 1957 - Jan. 1962).

<sup>2</sup>. LOA File: Church Correspondence, Napoleon B. Chiunda to W. McKenzie, 10-1-1962, and WM to N. B. Chiunda, 21-1-1962. Ackim Nkondwa was placed as a Synod evangelist in Mpika.

<sup>3</sup>. LOA File: Church Correspondence Isaac Kazimolu, Chikwanda LEA School to W. McKenzie, 14-1-1962.

out - 'Happy the man whose disobedience is forgiven, whose sin is put away'; and Peter's threefold affirmation to follow the risen Christ (John's Gospel, Chapter 21) was read. Then they were readmitted to the UCCAR. By the end of 1963 the number of Lubwa adherents had risen to 1,311. Now only a minority of the district belonged to the Lumpa Church.<sup>1</sup> Besides, Lumpa followers faced increased aggression from UNIP radicals, who may have hoped that this would win them good jobs in government offices after Independence. As a result, Lumpa members began to withdraw from the villages in which they were living, and to form their own.

In the course of 1964 the embattled Lumpa Church became increasingly estranged from the rest of society.<sup>2</sup> Some Lumpa villages, fearing attack, surrounded themselves with stockades. By July the government finally resolved to break up the Lumpa villages, but those within were determined not to yield. Violence erupted on 24 July, when a European police inspector and an African constable were killed at Chapaula in Lundazi District. Government, headed by Kenneth Kaunda as Prime Minister, sent two battalions of the Northern Rhodesia Regiment into Chinsali. On 30 July Sione was taken. The Lumpa Church was banned on 3 August 1964. On 11 August Lenshina gave herself up to a European civil servant at a Lumpa village near Kasama. She was detained in Mumbwa Prison near Lusaka. Between 21 and 25 September 560 Lumpa followers surrendered in the Chinsali District. On 10 October the Lumpa War ended with a fight between police and a large Lumpa group in Luangwa valley. A group, which may have numbered 19,000, fled to Katanga, and settled at Mokambo just across the border from Mufulira.<sup>3</sup> The number of casualties, mainly members of the Lumpa Church is estimated at between 1,100 and 1,300 though this figure excludes probably the number of people who fled in the bush wounded

<sup>1</sup>. The 21 illegal Lumpa settlements in Chinsali District in the early 1960s had a population of 5,500 (J. L. Calmettes, 1978, 'The Lumpa Sect': 37).

<sup>2</sup>. A. D. Roberts, 1972 (1970), 'The Lumpa Church': 41-44.

<sup>3</sup>. Hugo Hinfelaar (1989, 'Religious Change': 135) estimated the number of those that went into exile at 15,000, about half of the population of the 'illegal' Lumpa villages. J. L. Calmettes (1978, 'The Lumpa Sect': 36) gives 19,000. See also Appendix VIII Demographic Development, 1959-1969 below.



and who died there.<sup>1</sup>

When the war was still going on the UCCAR took the initiative for an effort at reconciliation. This was supported by the Prime Minister, Kenneth Kaunda, who saw to it that the campaign received logistic support from the Government, even though he was a suspended member of the UCCAR. Rev. Colin Morris, President of the UCCAR Synod, went in August 1964 with a team of full-time Christian workers to the district to help persuade Lumpa followers who had fled into the bush to return to their villages of origin and to live in peace with non-Lumpas. Church ministers and local church leaders were visiting Lumpa and non-Lumpa villages to preach and to distribute Gospels and other Christian books. Other Christian workers took spiritual and medical care for 3,000 non-Lumpa refugees gathered at Mulanga Mission. The church workers also assisted the government welfare workers who were visiting Lumpa refugees and prisoners at Chinsali. From the barbed-wire enclosure many Lumpas returned to their villages.<sup>2</sup> At the end of September 1964 a team of theological students at Mindolo, led by the Principal, W. Vernon Stone, and Rev. Jonas Sinyangwe, came to Chinsali to continue this work of reconciliation. Most of the students went into the villages to preach the Gospel, to gather Christian groups and to distribute Bibles, hymnbooks, and various other Christian publications. Vernon Stone and one student visited daily the 'cage,' the barbed wire enclosure where about one thousand Lumpas were detained. They also distributed Bibles and encouraged Bible study. They found most Lumpa members quite unrepentant, as they interpreted all biblical passages mentioning Zion and also passages predicting persecution of Christians as relevant to themselves. Some Lumpa members, who had not burnt their UNIP cards and who because of that had faced some persecution by fellow Lumpas, were more open to approaches by the UCCAR Christian workers.<sup>3</sup> It was, however, only gradually that disillusioned Lumpa members returned to Lubwa Church.

<sup>1</sup>. J. L. Calmettes, 1978, 'The Lumpa Sect': 36.

<sup>2</sup>. WM W. M. Hincks, 1964, 'Chinsali. The Church in Action' (cyclostyle).

<sup>3</sup>. WM W. V. Stone, 1964, 'Report on the Work of God in Chinsali' (cyclostyle).

## 6. After Independence, 1964-1967.

Independence came on 24 October 1964. The Lumpa Church had been eliminated as an organized force opposing Lubwa Church. What remained was a population, disillusioned with Lenshina, but yet undecided which Church to join.<sup>1</sup> From 1964 as the result of the efforts at reconciliation by Mushindo and McKenzie the Church gradually began to grow again and former members of the Lumpa Church began to return to Lubwa.<sup>2</sup> In 1965 the UCCAR, now the United Church of Zambia (UCZ), organized another evangelistic campaign in the district, again led by Rev. Vernon Stone. The campaign was specially directed at Lumpa members, who after the banning of their Church were believed to be in a 'spiritual vacuum.' The campaign succeeded in having 270 former Lumpa members restored to full membership.<sup>3</sup> Rev. Stone considered in 1965 Lubwa Church 'on the right track' as it was 'locally based, with a desire to worship, seeing its church life as its own responsibility and producing local leaders, who were unpaid.' Lubwa DCC tried to assist these local leaders by providing them with short training course of not more than a fortnight duration each.<sup>4</sup> In 1967 Rev. William McKenzie, the last in the long line of Scottish missionaries in the district, left for Kashinda to work full-time on a new ecumenical translation of the Bible in ChiBemba. An uninterrupted presence of the Scots in Lubwa of over fifty years had come to a close.

## 7. Conclusion

The period under review saw the most serious challenge to Lubwa Church. It saw also the most far reaching changes in its structure and membership. In 1953 the Church still followed very much the traditional model of a mission, with a major role in the provision of educational and medical services and where church expansion was through paid evangelists. In 1967 Lubwa Church was on its own, with the departure of the last of the Scottish missionaries. The Church became a rural-

<sup>1</sup>. WM W. V. Stone, 1964, 'Report'.

<sup>2</sup>. TI Rev. W. McKenzie, Dumfries, 12-1-1981.

<sup>3</sup>. UCZ UCZ Northern Presbytery, 21-27 August 1966, Life and Work, Lubwa 1965.

<sup>4</sup>. W. V. Stone, 1964, 'Report'.

based, self-governing, self-extending church and, apart from the salary of the minister, a self-supporting church.

The Lumpa Church came into being as an organisation separate from Lubwa Church in the course of 1954. It derived from the Presbyterian Church its strong stress on an innerworldy ethic, and also its stress on explicit written down rules for conduct. The Lumpa Church was also characterized by a strong manicheistic attitude, which differentiated between those who were saved ('the *bená Lumpa*') and those outside salvation ('*fisongo*' or bushbucks). This aspect of the Lumpa Church could have its origin in the vehement anti-Catholicism of especially Dr Brown, the medical missionary of Lubwa. Brown made a sharp differentiation between the elected believers, who based their faith on the authoritative and infallible Word of God, the Bible, and those of the Roman Catholic Church who based themselves on 'mere words of men.' (i.e. on the Pope and on church tradition). The name MacMinn, Brown and other Scottish missionaries gave to the Roman Catholics, 'the Romans' ('*Baroma*'), led to a folkmyth which identified the Roman Catholics with the Roman occupying force of Palestine at the time of Jesus. The Roman Catholics, the '*Baroma*', who had crucified the Lord, were His enemies and could be considered a kind of superwitches. The Lumpa adherent Joseph Mumba, accused in public the Roman Catholic priest Fr. Kakokota of being a witch. The accusation was backed by the Lumpa Church which organized a protest demonstration at the boma of some 500 followers, led by Petros Chintankwa, against his imprisonment.<sup>1</sup>

Lubwa in fact forced the split between Lubwa and Lumpa by its evangelistic campaign of 1954. Here Lubwa offered also an exclusive model of salvation, a dualistic model. Its church members were asked to show 'complete faith in Christ and in Him alone.' Moreover this confession of faith had to be demonstrated by taking part in Holy Communion, which was strongly forbidden by the Lumpa Church. This amounted to a renouncing of Alice Lenshina and of the possible power of witchcraft. Lubwa, by this campaign in fact strengthened the

<sup>1</sup> J. L. Calmettes, 1978, 'The Lumpa Sect': 16.

manicheistic attitude of the Lumpa Church by countering Lumpa's exclusive model of salvation, by another exclusive model. The church members of Lubwa did not choose against Lubwa, but just abstained from making a choice. Many people in the district would use a pluralist model of religion, whereby Lubwa and Lumpa were not exclusive models of salvation. They would go to the Lumpa Church, to Sione, only to get the baptism, which would cleanse them from witchcraft or to get the blessed seeds this Church offered. The evangelistic campaign of Lubwa made this impossible, but increasingly the Lumpa Church put itself also in a position where it excluded other models.

The Lumpa Church saw as a major part of its mission 'to cleanse the land of witchcraft.' Lubwa was aware of the problem, but was unable to address it. Lubwa preached a rational religion. Faith was not opposed to the laws of nature. For Lubwa Church the remedy against the belief in witchcraft was the teaching of health care and modern medicine, the scientific approach to life. The Lumpa Church offered a new ritual, a baptism, which cleansed the people from the sin of having practised witchcraft. In addition this would prove to outsiders that they were not witches. The medical and educational services Lubwa provided could have been a major weapon in the competition with Lumpa. Nevertheless Lubwa decided to relinquish its educational and medical commitments. Influenced by the missiological ideas of MacGavran of the church growth school, Lubwa wanted to become a people's movement, like the Lumpa Church, unbothered by managerial and bureaucratic duties. This was effected in the three years between July 1956 and July 1959 for the schools run by Lubwa, while in September 1961 Government took over Lubwa Hospital. Church work had from now on to be done by voluntary workers and for this reason the last paid evangelists were dismissed. The handing over of the financial and managerial responsibilities made the integration of mission and Church more easy. This was achieved in 1961. Lubwa was then no longer an alien, foreign dominated institution, which was the criticism of at least some nationalists. In 1967 with the departure of the last of the Scottish missionaries the Church was completely in African hands and a new era started for the Church.

The Lumpa Church could be considered the successor of Lubwa Church for another reason. Robert Kaunda, the eldest son of Rev. David Kaunda, the first African minister and pioneer evangelist of Lubwa, had a leading position in the Lumpa Church. The widow of David Kaunda, Helen, also joined Lumpa. There were also similarities in the role of the laity, the strong stress on a puritanical ethical code and the disregard for the sacraments. Even Lumpa's strong anti-Catholicism was derived from the Church of Scotland. Lumpa was a model of a self-governing, self-extending church, the Presbyterian ideal. Lubwa Church however did not address the problem of witchcraft in a direct way. Lubwa would also not reject those outside Lubwa in such strong terms as the Lumpa Church did with the non-Lumpa.

Kenneth Kaunda, the youngest son of Rev. David Kaunda, had chosen a political career. From 1953 to 1958 he was the Secretary-General of ANC, the second in command in the nationalist movement. Lubwa Church came also in conflict with the nationalist movement. But soon it began to support it. 29 June 1960 could well have been a decisive moment in the relationship between Lubwa and the nationalists. Then Kenneth Kaunda, President of UNIP, choose Lubwa Church as the place to have his first big meeting after his release from prison. Kenneth avoided Kasomo although he could have had a bigger gathering there. The challenge to Lubwa Church from the side of Lumpa was in fact eliminated by the nationalist government, headed by Kenneth Kaunda, who sent troops of the Northern Rhodesia Regiment into the Northern and Eastern provinces to end the violent conflicts between UNIP youth and Lumpa followers.

UNIP had come out of the struggle for Independence and also out of the Lumpa War, triumphantly. Its ideology of 'Zambian Humanism' had a religious dimension. On the basis of an interpretation of the fundamentals of Christianity and other religions it developed a view on man and on society. Kenneth Kaunda's address to the Synod of the Anglican Church in Zambia on 8 May 1967 is a clear example of this. Church and State have, according to Kaunda, one Mission. Both the Church and the State have one goal: both must serve man in accordance

with the law of God. The Churches are supposed to make their own contributions to nation-building. *Zambian Humanism* is the humanism of the extended family, based on the values of traditional society, which is 'intensely religious.'<sup>1</sup> Some radical UNIP members may have understood this to mean that *Zambian Humanism* would supersede Christianity. Shortly after Independence there were clashes of timing of political meetings of UNIP and of church services at Lubwa on Sundays:<sup>2</sup> UNIP demanded apparently an undivided allegiance.<sup>3</sup> UNIP members began to organize compulsory party meetings on Sunday mornings at the same time that church services were held.<sup>4</sup> After complaints by the President of the UCZ, Colin Morris and the Christian Council of Zambia to the President of Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda, this harassment by UNIP stopped.<sup>5</sup> The *Zambian Humanism* of President Kaunda found a form of coexistence between political nationalism and religion, though the lines between the two were not clear cut. Moral and spiritual development were to be part of the Party and Government programme. The Party programme has to include moral and spiritual teaching. 'Religion must continue to play an important part in our moral life.' Hence, religious leaders had to give the Party ethical and moral guidelines.<sup>6</sup> Lubwa Mission had already anticipated such a situation when it handed over its schools to the Government, while a right of entry for religious education of the pupils was retained. Religious education was to be given, and is still given, in government schools.

<sup>1</sup> K. Kaunda, 1968, 'Church and State: One Mission', in: *Overseas Mission Review*, 13, 3: 21-29.

<sup>2</sup> UCZ 904 Minutes of the Meeting of the Synod Executive of the UCZ, Lusaka, 12 to 13-5-1965.

<sup>3</sup> A. D. Roberts, 1972 (1970), 'The Lumpa Church': 55.

<sup>4</sup> Kenneth Kaunda mentions in his autobiography that UNIP developed the habit of meeting on Sunday morning, because the police in the towns did not give permission for political meetings to be held on Sunday afternoons (Kenneth Kaunda, 1962, *Zambia Shall Be Free*, London: 150). After Independence this reason was of course no longer valid.

<sup>5</sup> UCZ 904 Minutes of the Meeting of the Synod Executive of the UCZ, Lusaka, 12-13 May 1965: 65/50 Northern Presbytery.

<sup>6</sup> Kenneth David Kaunda, *Humanism in Zambia and A Guide To Its Implementation Part II. Humanism Is Our Guiding Light II*, Lusaka: 118-9.

## CHAPTER FIVE

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## CONCLUSION

**Conclusion**

The Livingstonia Mission aimed at acting as an auxiliary to commercial ventures, to smooth away obstacles in the path of economic progress, to educate Africans in technical skills and in qualities of thrift, self-reliance and hard work.<sup>1</sup> A major method of evangelization was the provision of education. General basic education was provided in the villages, while at the mission station more advanced general education was offered and on the job training in technical skills needed for the building and agricultural program of the mission. The most advanced education was offered in the Overtoun Institution in Khondowe, Northern Nyasaland. For Livingstonia during almost the whole period till the 1950s, school and church could be equated. They had separate, but similar structures. One would become a Christian as a matter of course during one's progression in schools. School and church had graded systems, with qualifying examinations to enter the next higher stage. Church services were held in school buildings, while the preacher there was often the teacher, who had been teaching the children of the village during the week. Conversion was a slow process which started with the entry into the school system and often ended with the incorporation into the mission and church structure when employed as a teacher, evangelist, catechist or medical assistant. Mission employees, products of Lubwa's educational system, were dominant in the church structure as church elders and deacons.

Lubwa Mission aimed at bringing the Gospel, as understood by Scottish Presbyterianism, to the Bemba. However, the Roman Catholic White Fathers had occupied the Bemba heartland by 1898. This was achieved through the audacious action of Bishop Dupont, who managed to take over for a short period the rule over the area of Chief Mwamba after his death in October 1898. This event was the basis of the claim of the White Fathers to have the whole of Bembaland, including Chinsali District, in their sphere of influence. From 1895 onwards, however, the Livingstonia Mission had quickly expanded over a vast area westwards from Khondowe by employing students in teacher training to preach the

<sup>1</sup>. K. J. McCracken, 1964, 'Livingstonia as an Industrial Mission': 5.



Gospel, select young men for training at Khondowe or Mwenzo and to establish schools. By 1904 a group of students had reached the borders of the Chambeshi River. Between 1895 and 1905 one could speak about a scramble for the Bemba between the Roman Catholics and the Presbyterians. In the end the Presbyterian Mission gained Chinsali District, while the White Fathers established themselves in Kasama District and Mpika districts. In 1935 the White Fathers established a mission station in Chinsali District, not far from Lubwa. There emerged an intense interdenominational rivalry. The missions competed in the area of education. Here Lubwa Mission had the strongest position. Between 1935 and 1945 a new scramble took place between the White Fathers and the Presbyterian Mission for the villages of the district in order to establish a Roman Catholic or a Presbyterian school in the village. The missions came to agree that children of one denomination could attend the school of the other denomination in the understanding that these children would not have to attend lessons in religious education. This meant *de facto* the secularisation of the school system. From then on, in principle, education was offered purely for the sake of education itself and not for the ulterior motive of converting the children.

Roman Catholics and Protestants had contrasting models of church and conflicting ideas about salvation, conversion, and the sacraments. This led on occasion to violent conflicts between followers of the two denominations and to the presentation of exclusive models of salvation. Many villages came to have a Protestant school-cum-church, as well as a Roman Catholic prayer house. This led to rifts in the extended family system. Information about the other faith was based more on rumour than on facts. Existing rifts in society were aggravated. Examples of such rifts are: the rift between the 'real' Bemba and the Bachinga, the original population of the district, and the rift between the *beni Ng'andu*, the leading clan, and other clans. Presbyterian converts, in contrast to Roman Catholic converts, took their clan name as their surname, when baptized, possibly a sign of pride in their pre-Christian origins. Generally speaking, Lubwa Mission attracted few members of the *beni Ng'andu* clan or clans closely related to the *beni Ng'andu*. Rev.

Paul Bwembya Mushindo, a grandson of Chief Mwaba Kabundi through his mother, was an exception at Lubwa. The White Fathers, however, concentrated on the 'real' Bemba, on the *beni Ng'andu*, on the elite.

Maxwell Robertson tried in the 1930s to introduce liturgical and theological innovations, to make the Gospel dynamic-equivalent to the culture of the Bemba of Ichinga. The church elders, however, rejected any innovation and opted for the form of Christianity which had been introduced to them by more fundamentalist missionaries like MacMinn and Dr Brown. This remained a main theme in the development of Lubwa Church.

In 1955 Lubwa Church experienced its first and only break-away movement. The movement was led by the prophetess Alice Lenshina and by some former mission teachers. Robert Kaunda, the eldest son of Rev. David Kaunda, became the Senior Deacon in the movement. The movement used elements of Presbyterianism, like a puritanical ethic and a hypercalvinistic view on the Sacrament of the Holy Communion. The Lenshina movement, soon to develop into the Lumpa Church, sought a dynamic-equivalent translation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. It used short, self-composed hymns using the music of traditional songs to convey its message. Many rules in the Lumpa Church were favourable to women, for instance the rule that *ukupyana* could be replaced by a special ritual of the Church. (*Ukupyana* had simply been forbidden by Lubwa Church as a form of adultery). Moreover all positions in the Church were open for women. This built on the important ritual position women had in precolonial traditional Bemba religion. In the area of witchcraft eradication the Lumpa Church was very active and the Church developed a ritual in which people could get cleansed from the sin of having participated, consciously or unconsciously, in the practice of witchcraft, or the sin of using amulets to protect oneself against witchcraft. The Lumpa Church, from the very beginning, used a manicheistic model, whereby people outside the Lumpa Church were excluded from salvation, or, worse, could be considered unrepentant witches or wizards. The elite of the mission churches, church ministers and priests, evangelists and catechists, and church elders faced such

implicit or explicit accusations.<sup>1</sup> In its rejection of other churches Lumpa could build on the foundation of the vehement anti-Roman Catholicism introduced by Dr Brown of Lubwa, and also on the hardly less vehement anti-Protestantism of the Roman Catholic missionaries, who excluded anybody without the Roman Catholic baptism from salvation. Following the tradition of Lubwa Church in the 1930s and 1940s, the Lumpa Church remained more antagonistic towards the Roman Catholic Church than towards the Protestant churches, united in the CCAR.

At first Lubwa met this challenge of the Lumpa Church by drawing back on the fundamentalist position of possessing, in contrast to the Lumpa Church, the Truth as found in the Bible, the Word of God. However the evangelistic campaign, where more or less this theology was represented, under the direction of Rev. John Fraser, failed completely. The campaign also eliminated any possibility of a peaceful cooperation between the two churches as envisaged by the liberal and ecumenical Rev. Fergus Macpherson. The Lumpa Church was a religious *movement*, while Lubwa was an institutionalized church, which people joined because of the position they held in the educational, medical or evangelistic structure of the Mission. Lubwa strived now also to become a movement. Lubwa did away with its educational and medical commitments and the management responsibilities this had brought with it. This opened the way for a church based on voluntary work. Voluntary pastoral work, done by women, organized in the KBBK, became especially important.

Lubwa Church had come under criticism of its own 'angry young men' for its attitude towards the plans for Federation in the early 1950s and for the segregation which still existed in the Church. In the late 1950s Lubwa Mission fully supported the nationalist case. This made Kenneth Kaunda, President of UNIP, decide to choose Lubwa church as a forum for his first speech after his release from prison and not the

<sup>1</sup>. Fr. Kakokota was openly accused of being a witch, but also Rev. Mushindo had to face the accusation that he went barefoot, not out of modesty, but, being a witch, because his feet were burning (rumour mentioned by several of my informants).

Lumpa church at Kasomo, though his brother Robert was one of its leaders and his mother Helen had also joined this church.

The nationalist movement, led by Kenneth Kaunda, had religious overtones. It opted for a Christianity which did not reject the traditional African religions. It expressed the basic ideas of an African theology. Here it could follow the ideas expressed by Livingstonia missionaries like Rev. Maxwell Robertson and leading Presbyterian Christians like Rev. Paul Mushindo and Donald Siwale. There were some indications that the nationalist movement, with its ideology of Humanism, tried to replace the existing religions, as it did not seem to allow a dual loyalty. The Lumpa Church was in any case eliminated in 1964, on the eve of Independence, as a rival group, by a violent suppression by the army. At least one thousand followers of the Lumpa Church were killed and tens of thousands fled to Katanga. After Independence on 24 October 1964 there were some clashes between UCCAR and UNIP. They however soon came to an understanding in which party and church were seen as loyal partners, both striving for the betterment of humankind.

## APPENDIX I

THE FIRST ONE HUNDRED MEMBERS OF LUBWA CHURCH <sup>1</sup>

<i>Name</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Date admitted</i>
1. David Julizya Kaunda		5-8-1909
2. Hezekiah Kaosa Nkonjera		3-8-1909
3. Ellen Jengwera Nyirenda		5-8-1909
4. Reuben Sele Mumba		1-8-1909
5. William Mabedi Bwali		14-7-1907
6. Adamson Luchembe Bowa		1-8-1909
7. Joseph Kafi Nkashi	Chinsali	1-8-1909
8. Samson Kachingwe Mfula	Lubwa	
9. Lot Mpande Bwali	Kasama	
10. Hanoch Folotiya Mfula	Chinsali	
11. Donald Chibale Mumba	Mubanga	
12. Alice Jamu Nkashi	Chinsali	
13. Laban Yamuseo	Chinsali	
14. Daniel Chilufya Besa	Lubwa	
15. Robert Chisanga Bwali	Chinsali	
16. Benjamin Spede Bwali	Nkula	
17. Joseph Katanga Nkamba	Lubwa	27-11-1910
18. Yonam Chimine Mumba	Nkula	
19. Moses Kasonka Ng'andu	Lubwa	
20. Andrew Pama Mfula	Nkula	
21. John Chambwa Silwimba	Nkula	
22. Mary Jukaya Nang'oma	Nkula	
23. John Mwila Nkashi	Chinsali	
24. William Kuwe Ng'andu	William	
25. Thomas Chewes Bowa	Lubwa	
26. Naaman Lubeta Membe	Lubwa	
27. Robert Jukamuma	Kasama	

<sup>1</sup>. LOA The Church Roll - The Presbyterian Church of Central Africa - Lubwa Congregation 1917 to 1931. Hugo Hinfelaar (1989, 'Religious Change': 48) observed that people took the totems of their clans as their surnames. He suggests that the Protestant converts looked for an identity from a period before the bena Ng'andu arrived in the area (o.c. 140, nt. 25). The Lumpa Church also stressed this clan identity (A. D. Roberts, 1972 [1970], 'The Lumpa Church': 25 nt. 85). According to Patrick Mutale Mushindo the use of clan names as surnames is due to external influences. The custom derived from teachers, who came from the Namwanga or Tumbuka of Nyasaland (Patrick Mutale Mushindo, no date [1966?], Clan and clan names, typescript).

<i>Name</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Date admitted</i>
28. James Chombela Mwansa	Lubwa	
29. Alifeyo Nkwazi Gondwe	Lubwa	
30. Jacob Makwaya	Kasenga	31-5-1913
31. Naaman Chewe Bowa	Kampemba	
32. Paul (Mwendachabe) Mushindo	Mutole	
33. Herbert Mpikula Bwali	Mutole	
34. Robert Chilangwa	Lubwa	
35. Andrew Kalyati Bwali	Lubwa	
36. Robert Chilenda Bwali	Nkole	
37. Yaphet Lombe Ng'andu	Mukwikile	
38. Jacob Kasomo Nsofu	Lubwa	
39. David Lulembo Ng'ona	David	
40. Mary Kasalwe	Lubwa	
41. Meshach Malipilo	Lubwa	
42. Andrew Jondokoso Mumba	Lubwa	
43. Jannet Malufya	Lubwa	
44. Shem Milambo	Lubwa	28-12-1913
45. Kosam Kamana	Lubwa	14-6-1914
46. Joseph Pikinini	Lubwa	
47. Thomas Besa	Musandiko	
48. Bright Chilende Mfula	Lubwa	
49. Caesar Hopu	Kamanga	
50. Joseph Pangapanga	Lubwa	
51. Hernry Folotya	Lubwa	
52. Kosam Fitula	Lubwa	
53. Lameck Chisopa	Lubwa	
54. Herod Tembwe	Kampemba	
55. Absalom Piri	Lubwa	
56. Abia Mukakeni	Pumomwefu	
57. Potifar Wabalika	Lubwa	
58. Joesph Katoni	Chilaisha	
59. Saulos Chituta	Lubwa	27-12-1914
60. Yason Kakusu	Ndakala	
61. Abel Chinungi	Lubwa	
62. Lameck Chapala	Lubwa	
63. Peter Changala Ng'andu	Lubwa or Mpandala	
64. Barnaba Chipusula	Lubwa	
65. Uria Malipenga	Kampemba	
66. Simon Chituta Bwali	Chisanga	

<i>Name</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>Date admitted</i>
67. Amos Mwila	Katambala	
68. Yakobi Nkumbi	Lubwa	
69. Yobe Mulenga Bwali	Lubwa	
70. Sam (Kabange) Shimulunda	Shimalunda	5-12-1915
71. Reuben Kang'ombe	Mubanga	
72. Matifeyo Gondwe	Lubwa	
72a. Jessie Mfula	Lubwa	
73. Reuben Chabeluka	Lubwa	
74. Adonia Lushyanya	Shiwalala	
75. Yeremia Makasa	Fonkofonko	
76. Elifas Chikoti	Lubwa	26-12-1915
77. Mirjam Chisus Chirwa	Lubwa	23-5-1916
78. Aaron Mpandula	Chandakunda	2-7-1916
79. Alick Kaminda	Chinkumba	
80. Marta Kangwa	Lubwa	
81. Aaron Kashitu Mumba	Lubwa	
82. Simon Fufu	Lubwa	
83. Maria Muwowo Ng'oma	Mundu	
84. Aaron Nsunge	Shimulunda	
85. Yorom Kayembe	Kaboshya	
86. Filemon Chininga	Nkula	
87. Yeremia Kaminsha	Kampemba	
88. Moses Kaputula	Shiwalala	
89. Donald Kambocho	Lubwa	9-6-1917
90. Laban Chikoti	Kasoma	
91. Charles Pambalu	Charles	
92. Jim Nsama	Lubwa	
93. Jane Wembia	Kaboshya	
94. Lameck Mulenga	Lubwa	
95. Lopa Yumbe	Lubwa	
96. Agnes Chanda	Shiba Ng'andu	
97. Amon Mwananchito	Lubwa	
98. Lucy Katongo	Lubwa	29-6-1918
99. Agnes Bwalya	Lubwa	
100. Isaaki Kamana	Lubwa	

**Notes :****1. Church discipline**

Of the first seventy Christians [admitted up to 5-12-1915] 25 were suspended (36 %); some were later reinstated. Reasons were:

Second wife or polygamy	10
Beer drinking	4
Adultery and beer	1
Adultery	1
Fornication	1
'Lost right of...' / 'disjoined'	8
	<hr/>
	25

**2. Migration**

Of the first seventy Christians 18 migrated:

5 to Congo, 5 to Ndola, 2 to Broken Hill, 2 to South Africa,  
2 to Ft. Roseberry, and 1 to Livingstone and 1 to Luanshya.

**3. Ratio men-women**

Of the first seventy Christians only thirteen (19 %) were women.



## APPENDIX II:

MEMBERSHIP OF CHINSALI WELFARE ASSOCIATION, CHINSALI BRANCH OF NR AFRICAN CONGRESS, AND LUBWA STATION COMMITTEE.<sup>1</sup>

WELFARE ASSOCIATION (1947)		CONGRESS (7-3-1950)	CONGRESS (4-2-1952)
Thom Sabi <sup>1)</sup>	Chairman	R. S. Makasa	R. S. Makasa, Chairman
Daniel D. Besa	Vice-Chairman	R. C. Mulenga <sup>2)</sup>	K. D. Kaunda, Secretary
Reuben C. Mulenga	Secretary	K. D. Kaunda	S. W. Sula Treasurer
Moses K. Mumba	Vice-Secretary	E. P. Mumba	M. K. Mumba Registrar
John Singoyi	Treasurer	S. M. Sula	active members:
R. S. Makasa	Committee member	J. D. Mpuku	Rev. P. B. Mushindo
Rev. P. B. Mushindo	Idem	J. D. Bella	R. C. Mulenga
K. D. Kaunda Idem		I. C. Chabala	
		Committee members:	
		Rev. I. M. Mutubila	
		Rev. D. D. Besa	
		K. M. Kanyimbo	
		T. M. Sabi	
		M. Sokoni	

## Notes:

<sup>1)</sup> Church elder      <sup>2)</sup> Teacher Lubwa Training School (Normal 2)<sup>1</sup>. UCZ and Kapasa Makasa, 1981, March: 28, for Welfare Association, 1947, Congress, 1950 and 1952. UCZ 771 UCCAR-UFCS, Minutes of Lubwa Station Staff Meetings, 1930-6, 1948-57.

LUBWA STATION COMMITTEE (July 1950) *Idem* (Jan. 1952)

Rev. Isaac M. Mutubila  
 Phillmon Chali  
 Yonam Mpuku  
 D. D. Besa  
 Robert Makasa  
 M. Muyawa *workshop*

Rev. P. B. Mushindo  
 A. K. Nkamba<sup>1)</sup> *hospital*  
 J. M. Bwali *hospital*  
 Y. Mpuku<sup>2)</sup> *garden*  
 S. W. Sula<sup>3)</sup> *office*  
 M. Muyawa

*visitors:*

Kapitolo  
 S. Kasumpa  
 Ph. Mbao  
 A. Mbalashi  
 E. K. Mumba

*Idem* [8-4-1952]

Rev. P. B. Mushindo  
 A. K. Nkamba<sup>1)</sup>  
 J. M. Bwali  
 Mrs. R.C. Mulenga  
 Sunday Rain (Mfula)  
 M. Muyawa

*Notes:*

<sup>1)</sup> Teacher Lubwa Training School (Normal I)

<sup>2)</sup> Head of School

<sup>3)</sup> Bursar

## APPENDIX III:

## LABOUR MIGRATION OF SOME POLITICAL LEADERS IN CHINSALI DISTRICT 1940-1953 (1957)

**Simon Kapwepwe**

*born:* 12-4-1922, Chinsali  
 St. 3 and 4 at Mwenzo  
 1942-3 St. 5 and 6 at Lubwa  
 1944 driver at PWD 1943-7  
 1945 elementary schoolteacher, Lubwa  
 Sept. 1947 looking for work in Tanganyika with Kaunda and  
 Sokoni; then: to Lusaka  
 then: Southern Province  
 June 1948 Ass. Welfare Officer,  
 Wusakile (Kitwe Municipal Council)  
 Location Nchanga Mines (Anglo-American)  
 teacher Wusakile Primary School  
 Mufulira (£ 5.13.6 p. a.)  
 1950-4 Indian Village Life Industrial Scholarship, Bombay, 1951  
 June 1951 study Hindi at Nairobi  
 returned 6-1-1955; Acting President of ANC, then Acting Provincial  
 Organizer ANC, Kasama  
 August 1956 Treasurer of ANC, Lusaka

**Kenneth Kaunda**

*born:* 28-4-1924, Lubwa  
 1940 St. 6  
 August 1941-3 Munali Training Centre, Lusaka: Form 1 and 2  
 Lubwa, teaching Upper Primary School (Boarding master)  
 August 1945 Headmaster, Lubwa  
 then: to Lusaka (instructor in army; dismissed)  
 then: Salisbury and Bindura Mine  
 early 1948 teacher Mufulira (UMCB)  
 Assistant at African Welfare Centre  
 Boarding Master, Mine School, Mufulira  
 (Pathfinder Scout Group) (Choirmaster CCAR Congregation) (Vice-  
 [Secr. Nchanga Branch of Congress] resigned  
 April 1949 parttime teacher at Lubwa  
 1951 resigned  
 1951-3 Organizing Secretary Northern Province (incl. Luapula) ANC  
 11-11-1953 move to Lusaka as Secretary General of ANC

**Robert Makasa**

born: 29-1-1922, Chinsali District  
 1943 first year LTS  
 1943-5 Mufulira Main School;  
 Clerk Wusakile (Nkana Mine)  
 1945-7 Nachula School, Choma  
 (AME Church) (12/6 p. m.)  
 1947 second year LTS  
 1948 Ass. Head Teacher Chinsali Boma  
 Lower Primary School

1950 Lubwa, then: Headmaster Nkula  
 Middle School

Oct. 1953 Provincial Organizer ANC, Kasama 1953 elected member ARC, Lusaka

**John Malama Sokoni**

born: 1930  
 St. 5

August 1947 looking for work in Tanganyika,  
 then Kitwe  
 early 1948 teacher [UMCB]  
 teacher Mine School, Chingola  
 April 1949 co-operative farm at Kamangu,  
 Chinsali

**John Manakatwe**

born: Chinsali 1926  
 1942-8 Munali Training Centre, Lusaka  
 then: Adams College (Natal): BA

1957 Principal Kasama Secondary School

**Paul Mushindo**

*born:* ca. 1895 Chitimukulu Cibango, Mutole Village

1908 St. 1; 1911 St. 2 and teacher for beginners ( 1/- p. m. ); 1912 St. 3; 1913 (£ 1 p. m.);

1920 St. 5; 1921 Standard 6; 1922 St. 5 (Livingstonia); 1924 St. 6;

1925-1926 Livingstonia teacher training; 1926 Head Teacher at Lubwa (£ 3.10 p. m.);

1930-31 Ndola town, Masala Township;

1931 Head Teacher Lubwa; Shiwa Ng'andu (Mpandala); language work (Bible; Bemba dictionary)

1934 research assistant Dr Audrey Richards

1938-9 Livingstonia theological course (Khondowe, Nyasaland);

1944-53 member of African Provincial Council Northern Province

1947 ordained; 1947-50 minister at Chitambo;

1948 member of African Representative Council

1950 minister at Lubwa; 1965 retired

**In Chinsali District:**

	<i>years:</i>	<i>total</i>	<i>in period 1939-53</i>
<b>Kenneth Kaunda:</b> 1924-41, 1943-47, 1949-53		25	10
<b>Robert Makasa:</b> 1922-43, 1947-53		27	10
<b>Simon Kapwepwe:</b> 1922-1941, 1944-47		23	5
<b>John Sokoni:</b> 1930-1947, 1949-1953		21	12
<b>Paul Mushindo:</b> c.1911-21, 1926-30, 1931-38, 1940-47, 1952-1972		48	9

**APPENDIX IV**  
**KEY PERSONS LUBWA 1913-1967**

	Missionary- in-charge	Doctor	Principal Training School	African Minister/ Synod Evangelist(S)
1913	R.MacMinn (retired 1933)			
1927		D.Brown		
1930			D. M. Robertson	D. Kaunda (d.1932)
1931	D.Brown (d. 1947)			Daniel Besa (S) (till 1951)
1939			G. Cato	
1945				I. Mfula Mutubila
1947	W.Bonomy	John Todd	J.Nelson	
1948	K.MacKenzie			
1950				P. B. Mushindo (1965 retired)
1951	F.Macpherson (Oct.)			
1952		D.L.Wilson		
1953			Y. Mpuku (Dec.)	
1955	J.Fraser			
1956	D.L.Wilson			
1958				
1959	W.V.Stone (June-Dec)	W.M.Moffatt	[Training School closed]	
1960	W.McKenzie			
1961		[hospital closed]		
1965				
1967				S J. Chirwa (probationer)

## APPENDIX V

DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERS OF LUBWA CHURCH AFTER THE  
REDEDICATION CAMPAIGN OF 16-29 OCTOBER 1954<sup>1</sup>

<i>District</i>	<i>Evangelists</i>	<i>Communion Centres</i>	<i>Visited</i>
I	Reuben Nkashi	1. Kalisha	-
		2. ShiMwalule	10
		3. Charles	-
		4. Nkweto	-
II	S Peyoni Bwalya	5. Musanya	-
		6. Mundu	-
		7. Cheswa	8
		8. Kampemba	-
		9. Musunsu	-
III	Abraham Mwana Mwenge	10. Chinsali	10
	Barnaba L. Mutale	11. LUBWA MISSION	100
		12. Nkula	19
IV	Thomas Shuka	13. Mwika	5
		14. Chisongo	9
		15. Shem	18
		16. Muntuenda	12
V	Thomas Nkamba	17. Mwenge	6
		18. Lapukeni	6
VI	Mateyo Chilufya	19. Mumembe	-
		20. Malekani	7
VII	Moses Musonda	21. Kabanda	5
	Dickson Chanda	22. Lumpa	-
VIII	Samson Nsofu	23. Chewe	-
		24. Chinkumba	3
IX	Ben Ng'ona	25. Kalikiti	4
	Lamech Nsofu	26. Chibesakunda	10
		27. Lupande	10
X	Isaac Chafungwa	28. Katambala	-
XI	Simon Sampa	29. Shiwa Ng'andu	26
XII	Yotam Lulembo	30. Mulilabantu	6
		31. Chiyinga	14
		32. Changalilo	9
		33. Chishala	4
		34. Mpika Boma	-
		TOTAL	300

<sup>1</sup>. WM Paper in collection of Rev. William McKenzie, Dumfries, Scotland.



## APPENDIX VI

## CHINSALI DISTRICT: LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT, 1947-1950

Employment within Chinsali District (1948):<sup>1</sup>

<i>Number of manmonths worked</i>		<i>% av. rates of wages</i>
Government	6,789 43	30/- p. m.
Non-government: teaching and mission	3,405 22	10/- to £ 4 p. m.
Agriculture	2,452 16	17/6 to 27/6 per ticket plus ration allowance 5/- to 10/- p. m. (capitaos up to £ 3-10-0 p. m.)
Native government	1,305 8	
Shiwa Ng'andu	840 5	
Domestic service	822 5	20/- to 60/- plus rations
Other	86 1	
<i>Total</i>	15.699 100	

In 1948 total employment in men-years in Chinsali District was about 1,300. The (male) tax-paying population was then: 7,500. This means that local full-time employment was available only for about 16 to 17 % of the adult male population. The missions provided employment for about 4 % of the workforce, but this was about 25 % of all employment available.

<sup>1</sup>. RHL 971 Annual Report Chinsali, 1948.

## APPENDIX VII:

CHINSALI DISTRICT: LABOUR MIGRATION AND EMPLOYMENT,  
1947-19611. Labour Migration, 1947-1954.<sup>1</sup>

	1947	1948	1949	1950	1954
At work for wages (%):	33	40	58		
In Northern Province	8	11	16		
Outside the province	25	29	42	43	48
Taxable males (= 100 %)	7,379	7,500	8,795	9,339	10,505

2. Labour migration and employment, 1954-1961<sup>2</sup>

In the period 1954 to 1961 labour migration increased. By 1955 47 % of the taxpayers were away from the district. In 1959 59 % of the 'able-bodied men' were away from the district. (For Mpika and Kasama districts these figures were resp. 65 and 71 %).

There was in the period 1954-1961 no significant increase in employment in the district. In 1954 at Chibesakunda most men were at work locally for Sir Alfred McAlpine road construction.<sup>3</sup> In 1955 peasant farmers were installed as part of the Northern Province development scheme. They were sponsored by Government. Chinsali had 17 of them, Mpika 11, Isoka 20 and Kasama 23.<sup>4</sup> The Luvu peasant farm scheme was initiated in Chinsali District.<sup>5</sup> In the first half of 1961 employment opportunities in the district were only: the construction of an airfield and the Luvu bridge, with resp. 200 and 100 workers in the busiest period. Road gangs were at work on the Safwa, Mbesuma and Kalonga Road, and the building of new houses in Chinsali boma demanded also some labour.<sup>6</sup> Lubwa Mission dismissed then its last evangelists and employed less people then before.

In view of the fairly constant figures for heads of cattle and goats

<sup>1</sup>. ARNA 1947-1950, ARNA, 1954: 49, ARNA, 1955: 30, and ARNA, 1959: 17.

<sup>2</sup>. ARNA, 1955: 30, and ARNA, 1959: 17.

<sup>3</sup>. NAZ SEC2/759 TR No 6 of 1954.

<sup>4</sup>. John Hellen, 1969, *Rural Economic Development in Zambia: 1890-1964*, München: 206.

<sup>5</sup>. ARNA, 1955: 30.

<sup>6</sup>. NAZ SEC2/766 1961.

held in the district it seems there was not the expansion in farming in the period 1954-9 as was the case in the period 1947-51 (see p. 167). Mbesuma Ranch remained the most important farm for cattle farming. In 1955 it had 3,263 heads of cattle, which is more than the rest of the district together.<sup>1</sup>

## Chinsali District

	1954	1959
heads of cattle	2,599	3,180
goats	3,548	2,499

<sup>1</sup>. ARNA, 1954: 116, ARNA, 1959: 100, and ARNA, 1955: 35.

## APPENDIX VIII:

## CHINSALI DISTRICT: DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENT, 1959-1969

Between 1956 and 1963 the population of Chinsali District increased by a factor of 2.8. It ranked fifth in the Territory qua growth rate of the population. It came after Livingstone (19.2), Lusaka (5.2), Feira (3.8), and Kasama (2.9).<sup>1</sup> The growth of population in Chinsali is striking because all the other districts, except Feira, are urban. It could at least partly be explained by migration towards Sione, the holy village of the Lumpa Church. The majority of visitors to Sione were pilgrims, who remained there only a short time. These pilgrims numbered 60,000 in 1955. The 1963 Census showed a population concentration around Sione and Kasomo. Nkula North, which included Kasomo, Sion, and Lubwa, then had 12,230 people of which 6,022 were men and 6,208 women. This means a sex ratio of 970; in the district as a whole the sex ratio was 926, slightly less.<sup>2</sup> In 1969 the polling district Chinsali North (including Choshi, Kasomo, Lubwa and Maluba) had only 3,515 inhabitants; 1,590 men and 1,925 women. The sex ratio for this area had declined to 826, while for the district as a whole for the population above 14 it was 768. These are signs of an increased labour migration.

Between 1956 and 1963 the population of the district had increased by a factor of 2.8, but the decrease between 1963 and 1969 was even stronger. Between 1956 and 1969 Chinsali lost about 25,000 people. Labour migration increased after Independence, because of increased opportunities in central government and industry, especially for those with a finished school education. Moreover an estimated 19,000 Lumpa followers, of which about half could have come from Chinsali District, left the country out of fear for religious persecution. They settled in Katanga.<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to estimate how many people from the district died during the Lumpa War, but this could easily be several times the number mentioned by the Government Report.<sup>4</sup> These enormous demographic changes between 1956 and 1969 are not reflected in the membership roll of Lubwa, which shows a very modest growth in this period. Lubwa Church failed to gain any hold over these transient people.

<sup>1</sup> John Hellen, 1969, *Rural Economic Development*: 71.

<sup>2</sup> *May/June 1963 Census of Africans, Village Populations, District: Chinsali, Lusaka, 1965* (cyclostyle).

<sup>3</sup> J. L. Calmettes, J. L., 1978, 'The Lumpa Sect': 36, note 53. The estimate is based on press reports.

<sup>4</sup> The *Report of the Commission of Inquiry* (1965) gives 1,111 as the total number killed and wounded, mainly in Chinsali and Lundazi districts.

## APPENDIX IX:

STRENGTH OF ANC IN THE DISTRICT in 1959.<sup>1</sup>

The African National Congress (ANC) was in 1959 strongly represented in Chinsali District. The ANC Chinsali District Branch had then 20 branches, namely in:

Mutasha,	Lameck,	Kasusu,	Kacheche,	
Lubu Upper,	Chibunde,	Mwaba,	Chikombe,	Thomas
Chinungi,	Mundu,	Lubwa,	Matumbo,	Musanya,
Chibamba,	Kaluya,	Mpasafishala,	Nkula,	
Nkulungwe,	Charles,	Kamokamo.		

<sup>1</sup>. UCZ 597 *Northern Rhodesia Gazette*, 1-5-1959. General Notice No 874 of 1959. The Societies Ordinance.

**SOURCES****1. List of informants**

Joseph Bwali	Maluba	24-5-1982
Luka Chafilwe	Kalalantekwe (TI)	27-5-1982
James Chipalo	Nkula (TI)	25-5-1982
Robert Kaunda	Shambalakale	1-12-1979
	Shambalakale	8-12-1979
John Kamana	Maluba	25-5-1979
	Maluba (TI)	22-5-1982
Janson Kilembe	Chinsali	6-6-1982
William McKenzie	Dumfries	12-1-1981
Fergus Macpherson	Kilbirnie	12-1-1981
John Majoni	Chinsali (KKSS)	9-4-1979
Rodson (Lotson) Majoni	Nkula (TI)	25-5-1982
Kapasa (Robert) Makasa	Chinsali	Nov. 1978
Aron Mbalashi	Shambalakale (TI)	31-5-1982
Chikasa Mpango	Chikasa	8-6-1982
Gipson Mumba	Mpyana Bwalya (TI)	8-6-1982
Sam Webi Mumba	Lubwa (Ndola) (TI)	23-5-1982
Joseph Mulenga Mwansabamba	Shambalakale	31-5-1982
Manassa Sam Ng'oma	Mundu (TI)	3-6-1982
Nasion Chiti Nkonde	Nkula (TI)	25-5-1982
Robert Pambwe	Kawama (TI)	2-6-1982
Rev. D. Maxwell Robertson	Pittenweem (TI)	14-1-1981
Mrs. Robertson	Pittenweem	14-1-1981
Donald Siwale	Isunda (Nakonde)(TI)	25-5-1979

Translation and transcription of taperecorded interviews:

Bonaventure Bwalya, Chinsali

Rev. B. S. Chuba M. Th, Kitwe

Mrs. Priscilla Smit, Hedickhuizen, Neth.

**ARCHIVAL SOURCES AND LIBRARY COLLECTIONS***Zambia***1. National Archives Zambia, Lusaka****a. District Note Books and related files (KTP/KTQ and BS 1/146-7)**

- i. District Note Books (DNB): Mirongo DNB 1901- , and DNB Mirongo/Chinsali Division No 2 1907- (KTP 2/1); DNB No 1 Mirongo-Katumbi District (transferred to Lundazi 1938) (KTQ 2/1); Civil Court Casebook (KTQ 3/1); Criminal Case Records (KTQ 3/2); Mirongo Letterbook 1907-1908 (BS 1/146 [old: KTP 1/1]); Mirongo. Native Court Case Book. Criminal and Civil cases 1907-1909 (BS 1/147 [old: KTP 3/1])

**b. BS series (records of the British South Africa Company):**

- ii. General Letters-Missions 1905- (BS1/105-111); Missions UFCS 1899-1901 (BS1/114)
- iii. Missions. UFCS. Livingstonia 1899-1911 (BS 1/114)

**c. Secretariat files (SEC1, SEC2, SEC3 files):**

- iv. Peasant farms Chinsali (Shambalakale) 1948 (SEC 1/428)
- v. General Missionary Conference 1934-5 (SEC1/520)
- vi. Native Education. Missions. Reports on Missionary Societies 1939-1940 (SEC1/550)
- vii. Education (Tyndale-Biscoe), Management of Lubwa School 1936-1948 (SEC1/565)
- viii. Report on visit to Lupa Goldfield, Tanganyika Territory B u s h - Gore-Browne 1936 (SEC1/1395)
- ix. Annual Reports African Affairs - Chinsali 1956-1960 (SEC2/103-106)
- x. District Commissioners' Conference - Northern Province 1935-1948, 1957 (SEC2/180-182)
- xi. District Tour Report-Chinsali 1931-1961 (SEC2/749-766)
- xii. Annual Reports Native Affairs - Chinsali 1935-1937 (SEC2/1298);

**c. RC series (Records of the Crown Colony administration)**

- xiii. Spheres of missionary influence. General policy. Paper arising from claims of White Fathers 1923 (RC/711)
- xiv. Lubwa Training School 1935-1937 (RC/1692)

**d. HM series (historical manuscripts: GMC, Christian Council, CCAR, UCCAR and Church of Scotland Mission)**

- xv. Proceedings of the General Missionary conference 1922 (HM4/CC/1/4)
- xvi. 'Bobo' Young to Gore-Browne 1914 (HM26/1/1 and 2)
- xvii. CCAR Presbytery 1953 (HM28 UN 1/5)
- xviii. Church of Scotland Mission Livingstonia (Rhodesia) Missionaries' Committee; Foreign Mission Committee Correspondence/Northern Rhodesia Mission Council; Medical Matters 1955-1963 (HM28 UN 1/9-11)

- xix. Synod of CCAR: Presbytery 1948-1960 (HM28 UN 1/12)
- xx. Church of Scotland Livingstonia [Rhodesia] Mission Council Agenda; Foreign Mission Council, Church of Scotland Mission Northern Rhodesia - Minutes and correspondence 1954-1962 (HM28 UN 1/22)
- xxi. Foreign Mission Committee-Women's Foreign Mission Edinburgh 1959-1963 and 1957-1961 (HM28 UN 1/26 and HM28/UN/1/34)
- xxii. Station reports 1950-1961 (incomplete) (HM28 UN 8/2)
- xxiii. Church of Scotland Statistical Returns 1949-1960 (incomplete) (HM28 UN 9/2)
- xxiv. General Missionary Conference 1914; Christian Council of Northern Rhodesia (HM40/CC 1/1/2)
- xxv. Snelson's Papers 1965 (HM42/1/1)
- xxvi. Mwenzo Church Roll 1895- (HM62/1)

## **2. UCZ Archives, UCZ Theological College, Kitwe**

Church of Scotland, CCAR, UCCAR, UCZ files: correspondence, presbytery and synod minutes, finance files, medical files, statistical schedules, church union minutes, property files, minister's conferences, education

- i. Station reports- Lubwa 1940-1961; Lubwa Life and Work Report 1962; Life and Work Report - Lubwa DCC 1965; Annual Report - Lubwa 1942, 1949; Annual Report, Lubwa 1919, 1937 (618, 635, 696, 893, 1125)
- ii. Minutes of Lubwa station staff meetings 1930-6, 1948-1957 (771)
- iii. Livingstonia Institute Roll Book 1895-1900 (entry 1-333) (photostat copy)

## **3. Lubwa Office Archives, Chinsali** (most of the material was transferred to UCZ Archives, Kitwe in 1982):

Correspondence Moderator, DCC clerk, DCC Treasurer, minutes of N. E. Presbytery of CCAR 1945-1958; minutes of Synod of UCCAR 1958-1965; lay training, medical matters, education

- i. Roll of catechumens of Lubwa Congregation 1-8-1909 to 1-11-1939 (containing 5,409 names); continued 1-11-1939 to 27-8-1946 (containing 3,309 names)
- ii. The Baptismal Roll of the Presbyterian Church of Central Africa-Lubwa 1907-
- iii. The Church Roll 14 July 1907-
- iv. Mutembe Church Roll, Ichinga Church Roll, Makumbi Church Roll, 1956-1963
- v. Lubwa Station Committee Correspondence 1953-1960 and minutes 1952
- vi. Ichinga Kirk Session minutes (in ChiBemba) 1952
- vii. Lubwa DCC Life and Work Report 1959, 1960, 1961

## **4. Chitambo Office Archives, Kanona**

Correspondence 1907-1920; minutes of first Kirk Session Chitambo November 1920



*Malawi***1. National Archives Malaŵi, Livingstonia Depot, Zomba**

- LI 1/1 Correspondence (including
  - LI 1/1/1 Missions stations: Lubwa
  - LI 1/1/2 Mission Council
  - LI 1/1/3 Foreign Mission Committee
  - LI 1/2 Accounts
  - LI 1/3 Minutes [Livingstonia Mission Council [1909-1925], Livingstonia Presbytery, Livingstonia Senatus, Nyasaland and Rhodesia Committee]; Presbyterian Church of Central Africa, Presbytery of North Livingstonia [1899-1920] (LI 1/3/21)
- LI1/4 Manuscripts
- LI 1/8 Reports

*Scotland***1. National Archives Scotland, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh**

Manuscript Department, Livingstonia Papers

- i. Scottish Foreign Missions [7530-8022]
- ii. Correspondence and Papers of Livingstonia Mission [7864-7914]

**2. Edinburgh University Library, Edinburgh****a. Kenneth MacKenzie Papers**

- i. Church of Scotland schools Chinsali District 1954; communion centres Chinsali 1955;
- ii. The Lenshina Movement in Zambia. Paper to 1955 CCAR Presbytery (including sermon by Lenshina)

**b. Dr Laws Papers**

- i. Kirk Session Notes. Kirk Session Meeting Livingstonia 1913

**3. Private Papers Dr D. M. Brown, with his son Mr David Brown, Stirling**

- i. Diaries and notebooks Dr D. M. Brown 1914-1947 [also some by Mrs. Brown], correspondence, circular letters 1927-1945, press cuttings, photographs
- ii. James Ambrose Brown, 1950, The Good Fight ... [unpublished biography of Dr Brown, composed by his brother] (see below)

**4. William McKenzie Papers, Dumfries**

Correspondence, photographs

- i. Copy of letter of suspension of the church council Lubwa Church to Alice Lenshina with reply by Lenshina and by one of her deacons

*England***1. International Missionary Conference/Conference of British Missionary Societies, at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London** (also published by the Interdocumentation Centre (IDC), Microform Publishers, Leiden, Netherlands on microfiche)

Box 1207 file: Central Africa, United Free Church of Scotland (UFCS)  
[1924 Report on Our Central African Fields by Frank Ashcroft]

Box 1211 Northern Rhodesia: Reports of the various General  
Missionary Conferences, 1919, 1922, 1924, 1927, 1931, 1935, 1939,  
1944, and Notes and minutes of Executive Meetings

## **2. Rhodes House Library, Oxford**

a. S. R. Denny, 'Up and Down the Great North Road' [unpublished  
typescript with photographs] 1970 [Chinsali 1934-1935 pp. 30-36]  
[Mss. Afr. r. 113]

b. R. R. Stokes [Mss. Afr. s. 971]

i. Annual Reports on African Affairs for Chinsali District 1948-  
1952

ii. Bishop J. van den Biesen on origins of Lumpa

c. John William Hannah OBE [Mss. Afr.s. 1363] Evidence before a  
Commission of enquiry into disturbances between Alice Lenshina, her  
deacons and supporters and the UNIP, June/July 1964 as DC Chinsali

d. G. Ch. M. Heathcote [Mss. Afr. s. 1387] Northern Province Newsletter  
1955, 1957

## *Italy*

### **1. White Fathers Archives, Rome**

a. Station Diaries: Chilonga Mission, 1899-1914; Ilondola 1935-1955;  
Malole 1922-1963; Mulanga 1949-1962; Mulilansolo 1936-1948 [1952]

b. Correspondence: Files 106 Nyassa; Files 109, 110, 213, 214  
Bangweolo [File 213-304 Malole-Chinsali]; Files 215 and 521 Lwangwa  
Rapports annuels 1946-1956

c. Manuscripts: l'Origine des missions Nyassa-Bangweolo, Rome, 1930-  
1 [see below]

d. Publications:

*Abercorn (Circulaires)* 1949-1953 and 1957-1963

*Nouvelles et renseignements* [Chilubula] 1928-1930

e. Maps [110 Malole with Chinsali Annex]

f. Photographs [from 1880s onwards: Chiefs Makasa, Chitimukulu,  
Shimwalule, Mwamba]

g. Statutes of the Lwangwa Vicariate 1936 [052.1] [the sacraments,  
matrimony, the parochial archives]; Statuts du Vicariat Apostolic du  
Bangweolo [1937-1947] [03.0] [Indications sur la gravité des pratiques  
paiennes]

## *South Africa*

### **1. Doris Rodgers Collection, with Mrs. Doris Rodgers, neé MacMinn, Grahamstown**

Photographs of Lubwa Mission, 1913-c. 1935

Diaries of R. D. MacMinn 1906, 1910, 1915, 1916, 1948-1950,

### **2. Mrs. Cato Collection with Mrs. Cato, Hillcrest, Natal**

Photographs of Lubwa Mission 1940s

Map of Chinsali District with Central Schools, 1940s

## 2. List of written sources:

### A. Manuscripts

- BP Private papers Dr. D. M. Brown, including his circular letters, with his son D. Brown, Stirling, Scotland
- COA Chitambo Office Archives, Chitambo, Kanona, Zambia
- DR Doris Rodgers Collection, Grahamstown, South Africa
- IMC International Missionary Conference Archives / CBMS Conference of British Missionary Societies, SOAS, London (also on microfiche, IDC, Leiden, the Netherlands)
- KMP Kenneth MacKenzie Papers, Edinburgh University Library, Edinburgh, Scotland (EUL)
- LOA Lubwa Office Archives, Lubwa, Chinsali, Zambia Chinsali; partly transferred to UCZ, Kitwe, Zambia  
*NAM National Archives Malawi, Zomba, Malawi (Livingstonia Depot)*
- NAS National Archives Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland
- NAZ National Archives Zambia, Lusaka, Zambia
- NLS National Library Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland
- RHL Rhodes House Library, Oxford, England
- UCZ UCZ Archives, UCZ Theological College, Kitwe, Zambia
- WFA White Fathers Archives, Rome, Italy
- WM William McKenzie Papers, Dumfries, Scotland

### B. Unpublished papers and theses

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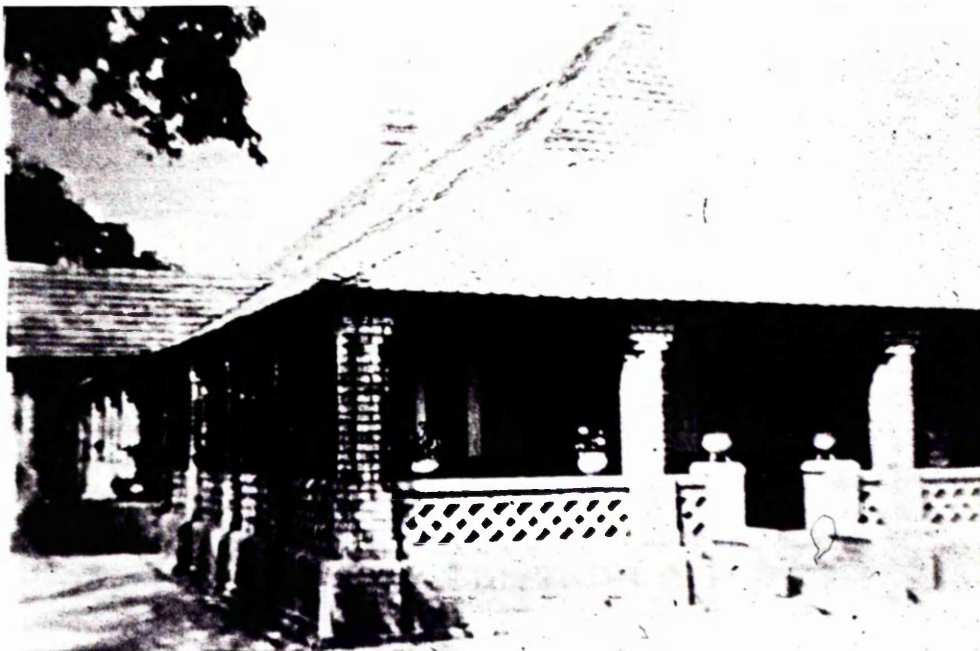
1. The first house built for Mr. and Mrs. MacMinn and their daughter at Lubwa ca. 1913 (Source: DR)



2. The later brick house built on the hill side for Mr. and Mrs. MacMinn (Source: DR)

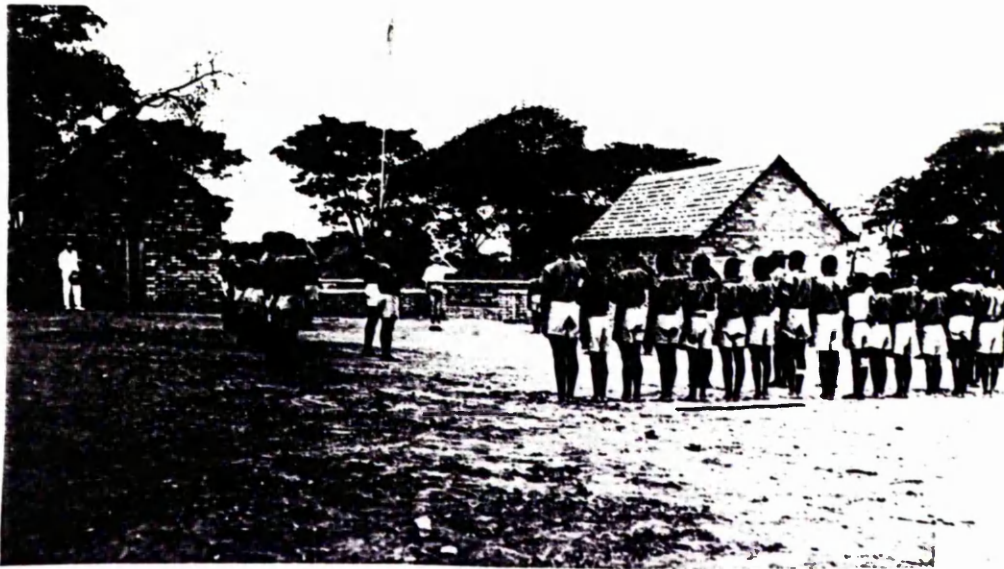


3. The well-house built over the perennial spring. This kept the water clean and made easy access to the water possible, ca. 1920 [Source: DR]

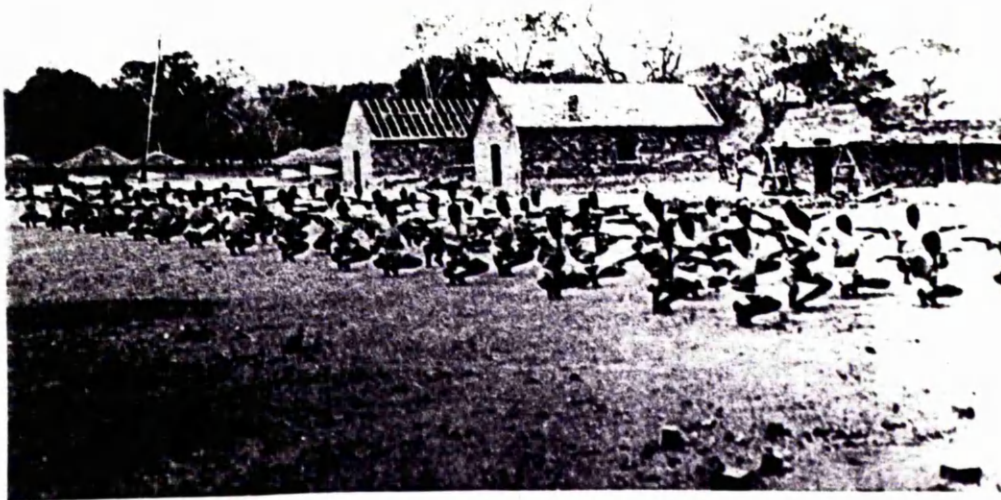


4. Missionaries' house, built on the hill-side, ca. 1935 [Source: WM]

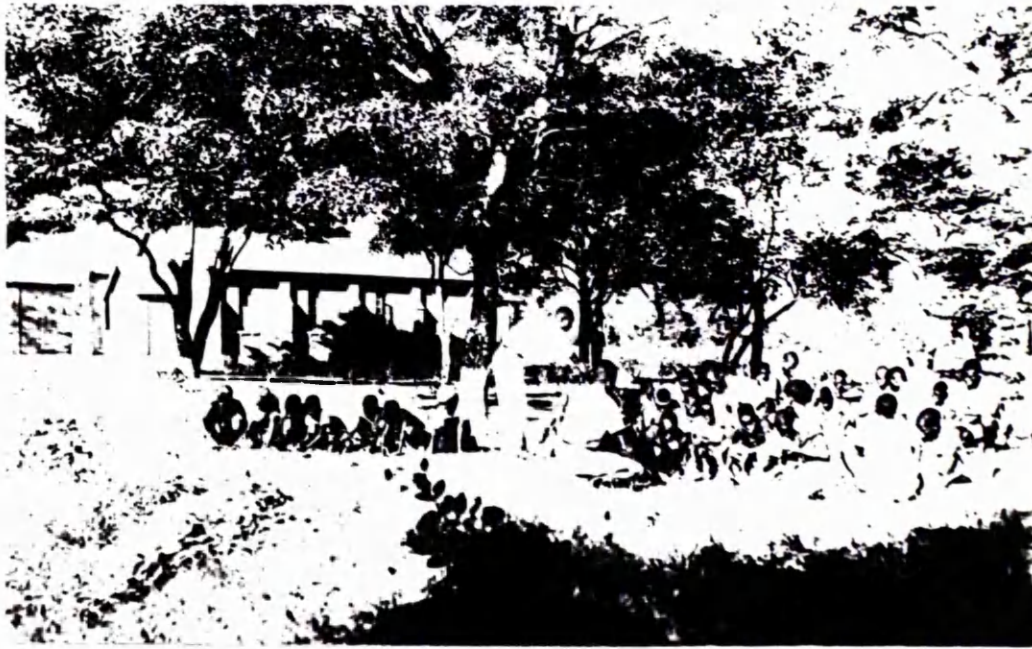




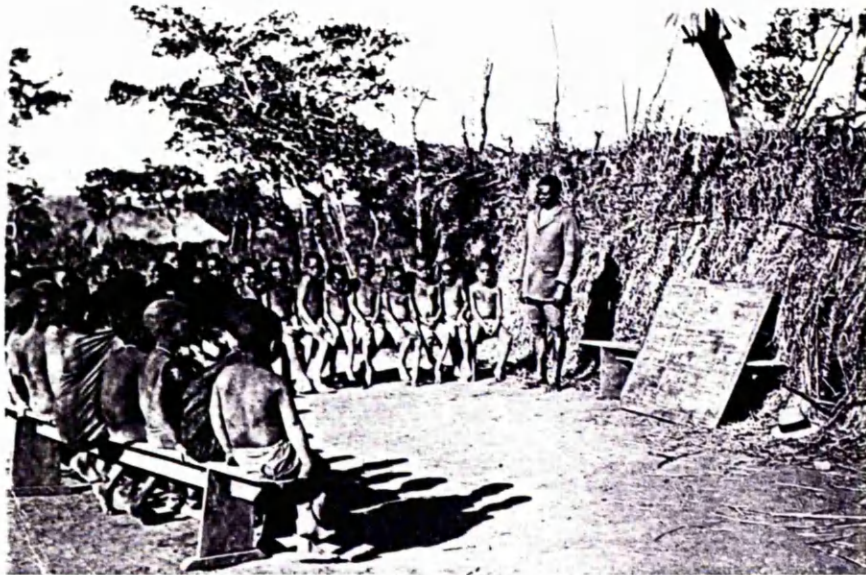
5. Lubwa Training School. Early morning parade; scholars on parade as 'Pathfinders.' Rev. G. R. Fraser in charge; Dr Brown on left. (Rev. Fraser had taken over from Robertson during his homeleave 1933-4). The school was run on Scout lines. (The name Scouts and Girl Guides was refused to Africans by the Movement in South Africa [Source: DB].



6. Lubwa Training School: early morning physical training, 1934. The dormitories for the LTS in course of erection by Dr Brown. Left background shows 'wattle and daub' rondavels in which they were housed. These were constructed by the scholars themselves [Source: DB]



7. Lubwa Training School: practising school. The students were taught to teach children from Lubwa village under ordinary village conditions. Background left: apse of the new church. Middle background: Richardson Memorial Hall, used as a session-house, ca. 1939 [Source: DB]



8. A village school [ca. 1930] [Source: DR].

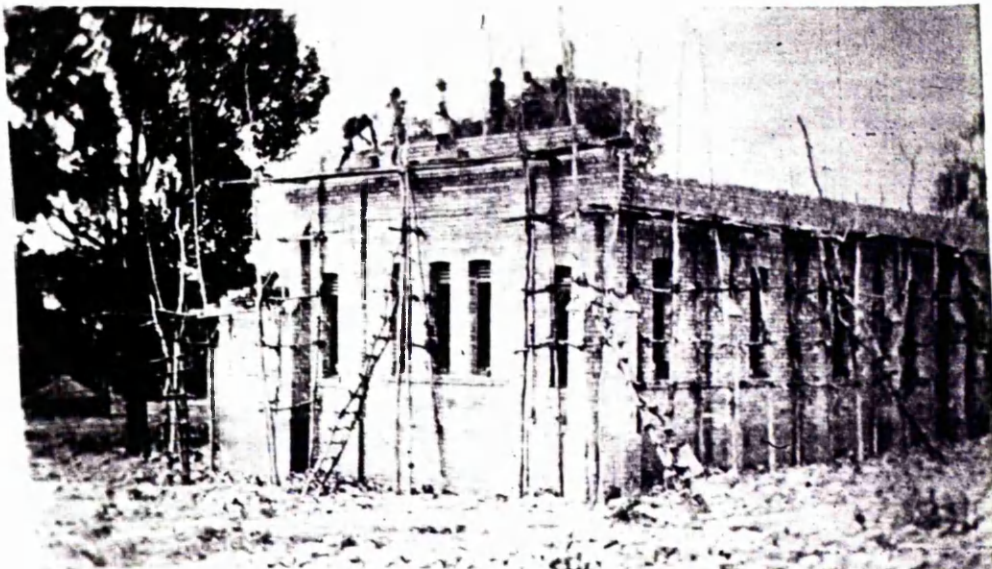




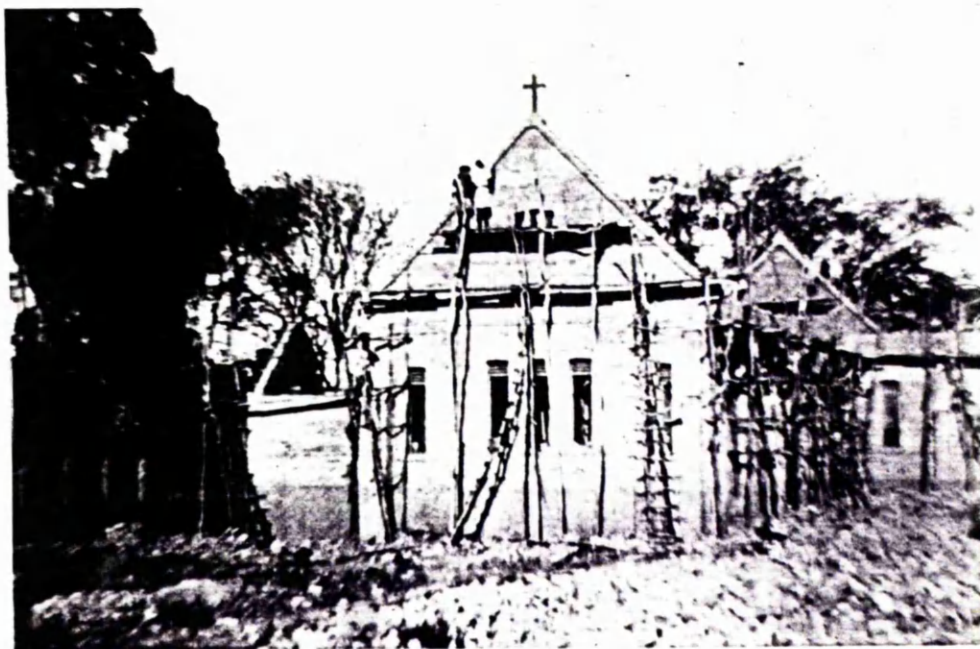
9. A village school at Chibesakunda, 1940s (Source: Mrs. Nelson)



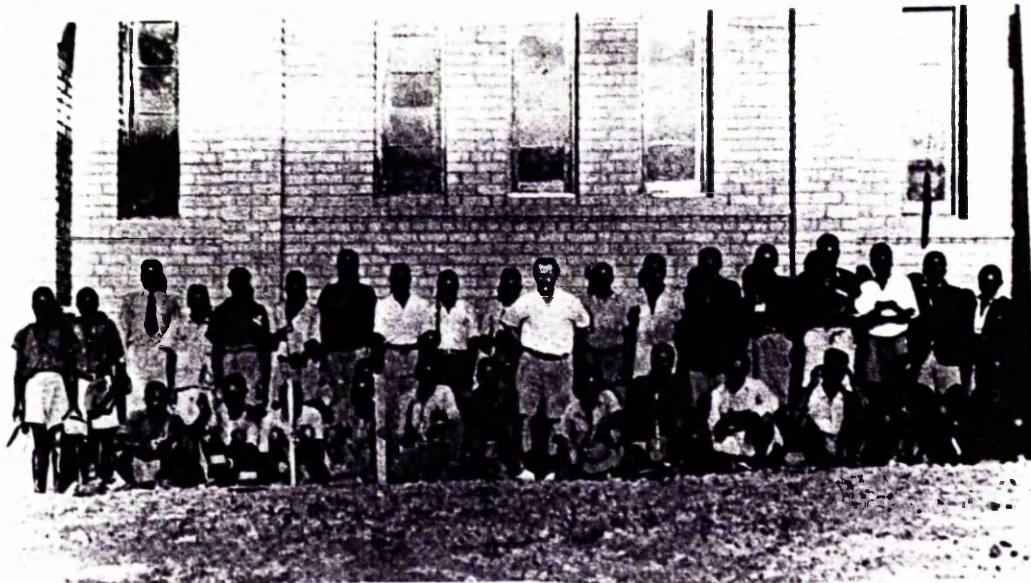
10. Girl boarders with sleeping quarters (rondavels) and a small hall for classes behind the wall, ca. 1935 (Source: DR).



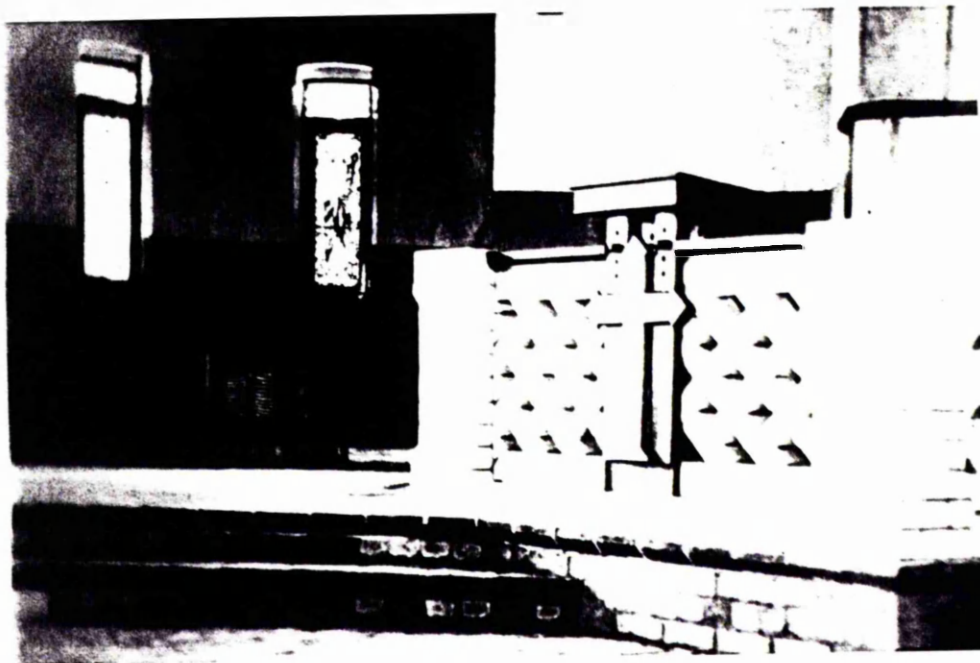
11/12. Lubwa church under construction. The church was opened in 1935. It had seats for 600; with mats the church could seat 1,000 people. At that time Lubwa Church had about 700 members in the district [Source: WM].



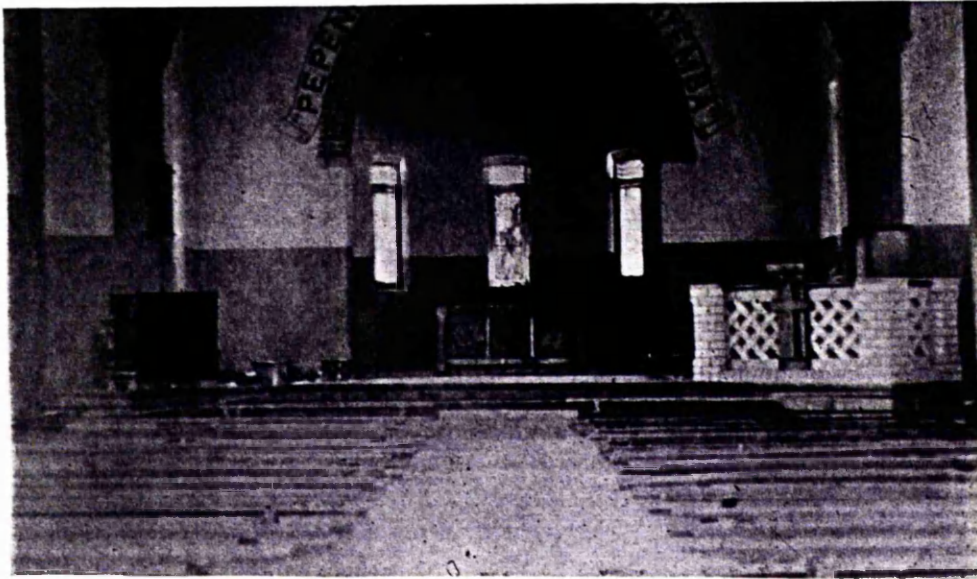




13. Dr. Brown with his team of carpenters, bricklayers, tilemakers etc, which built the church at Lubwa and made its furnishings. Photo taken at West gable, ca. 1935 [Source: WM].



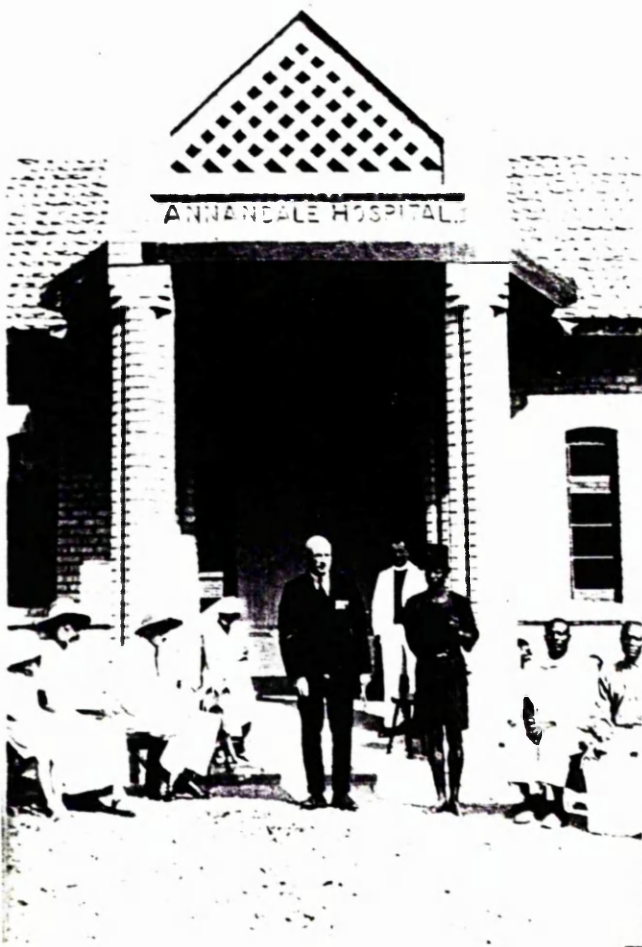
14. Pulpit of Lubwa church, in patterned brick, 1935 [Source: WM].



15. Interior of Lubwa church. On the arch over head in centre of chancel in ChiBemba: 'Worship the Lord in the Beauty of Holiness' (Source: WM).



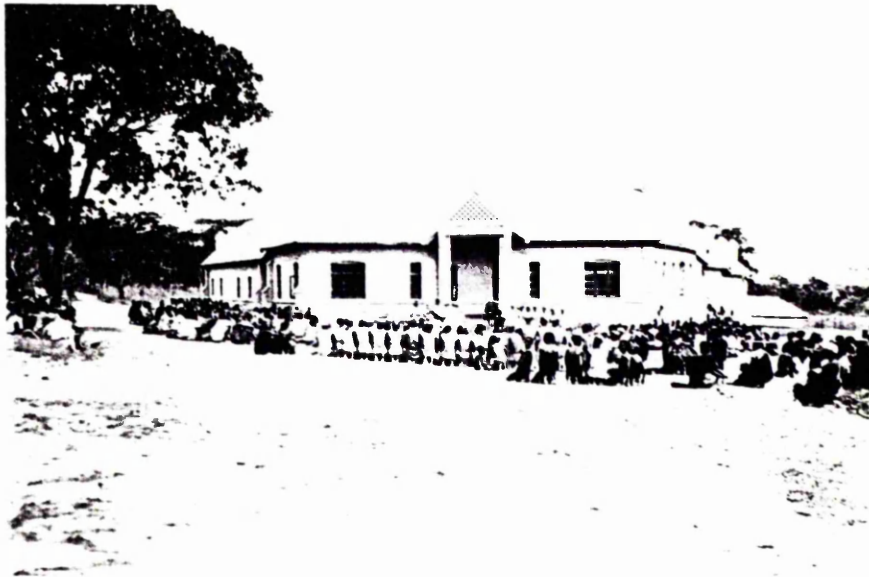
16. A wedding taking place in the church, ca. 1937 (Source: DR).



17/18. The official opening of Lubwa Hospital (Annandale Hospital) on 22 April 1936. Stuart Gore-Browne, from Shiwa Ng'andu, representing the Government, making his speech and declaring the hospital open. The Government messenger on his left repeated all that is said, though in the same language, ChiBemba. Chief Nkula Musunga, as a polygamist held back from church membership, but he attends the church service and his sons attend the mission school [Source: WM].







19. Lubwa Hospital at the opening. The administration offices are in front, the two wings, surgical and medical behind [Source: DR].



20. Medical extension work. The African dispenser is treating sores. Dr. Brown is preparing and giving medicines. Mrs. Brown is keeping records, ca. 1939 [Source: DB].



21. The Welfare Clinic's Baby Show, 1 January 1939. Mrs. Brexford, wife of the District Commissioner and Mrs. Brown were judging; Mrs. Cato and nurse Ruth Service were the other two judges [Source: DB].



22. Dr. Brown and Ruth Service with nurses, medical assistants, early 1940s [Source: DB].



23. Dr David Livingstone Wilson, grandson of Dr Livingstone, and staff in front of Lubwa Hospital, 1953 (LOA).



24. Front entrance of Lubwa Hospital (Source: LOA).





25. Mrs. MacMinn on a 'bush car': a bicycle wheel over which a frame with seat. There were two shafts back and front for two men to hold while pushing and pulling it, 1920s (Source: DR).



26. Crossing the Chambeshi: Rev. John Fraser, Joyce and Wallace. Photograph taken by John Nelson, 1956 (Source: Mrs. Nelson).



27/28. Dr. Brown on *ulendo* in Chinsali District, early 1940s [Source: DB].







29. Church Union at Chitambo in 1 December 1945. From left to right: the Rev. Gordon R. Riley, Secretary of the General Church Council of the churches under the care of the London Missionary Society, Dr. David Brown and the Rev. Henry Kasokolo, Secretary of the District Council of the Union Church of the Copperbelt [Source: WM].



30. Funeral of Dr Brown on 2 October 1947. His body was buried in the traditional African way, rolled in a mat [Source: WM].



31. Evangelistic campaign, May 1950 (Source: DB).



32. John Nelson on *ulendo*, 1940s.  
(Source: Mrs. Nelson)



33. Jolson Bwali, medical assistant, (right) and Tomas Sabi, Jeanes teacher, (left) ready for evangelistic work, 1940s (Source: Jolson Bwali).





34. Moderator, Rev. Kasokolo (in gown) with other members of Lubwa Church: from left to right: Tom Sabi, Rev. R. McMinn, Rev. Paul Mushindo, the Moderator, Rev. Kasokolo, Rev. Bill Bonomy and Rev. George Cato, ca. 1948 [Source: WM].

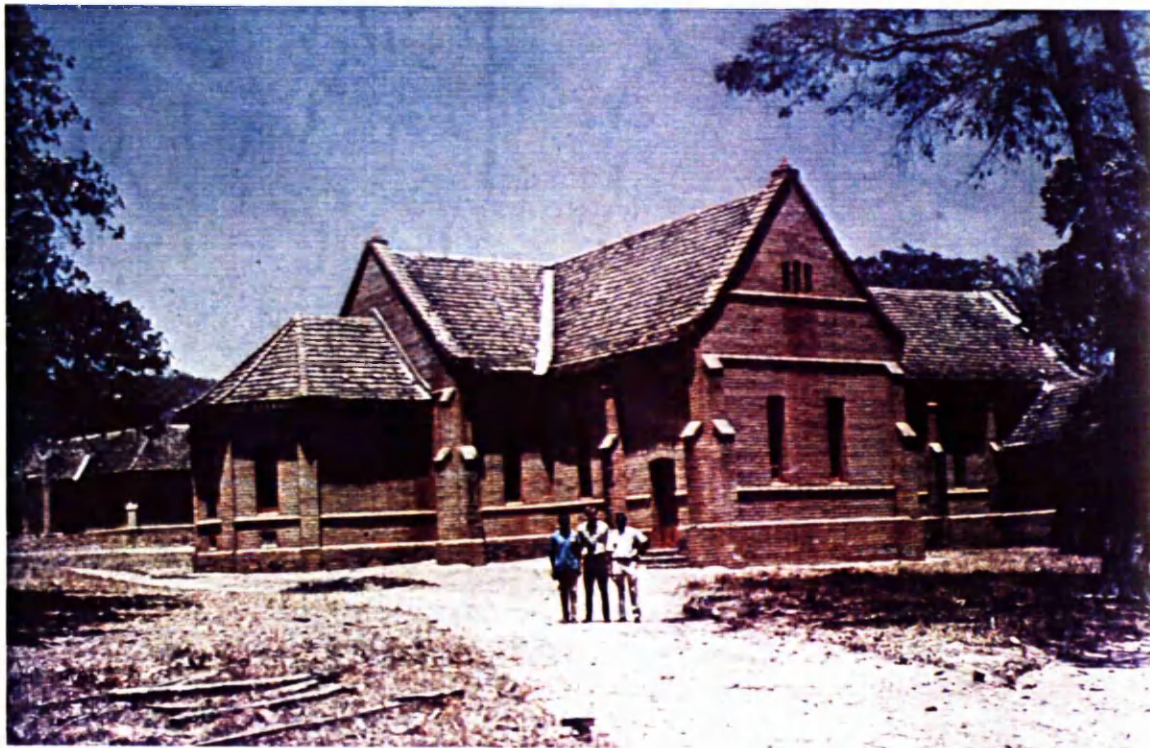


35. Church Council of Lubwa Church; Eneyah Mumba (3rd from left, John Kamana, (4th from left) and Tomas Sabi (5th from left), April 1980 (picture by author).





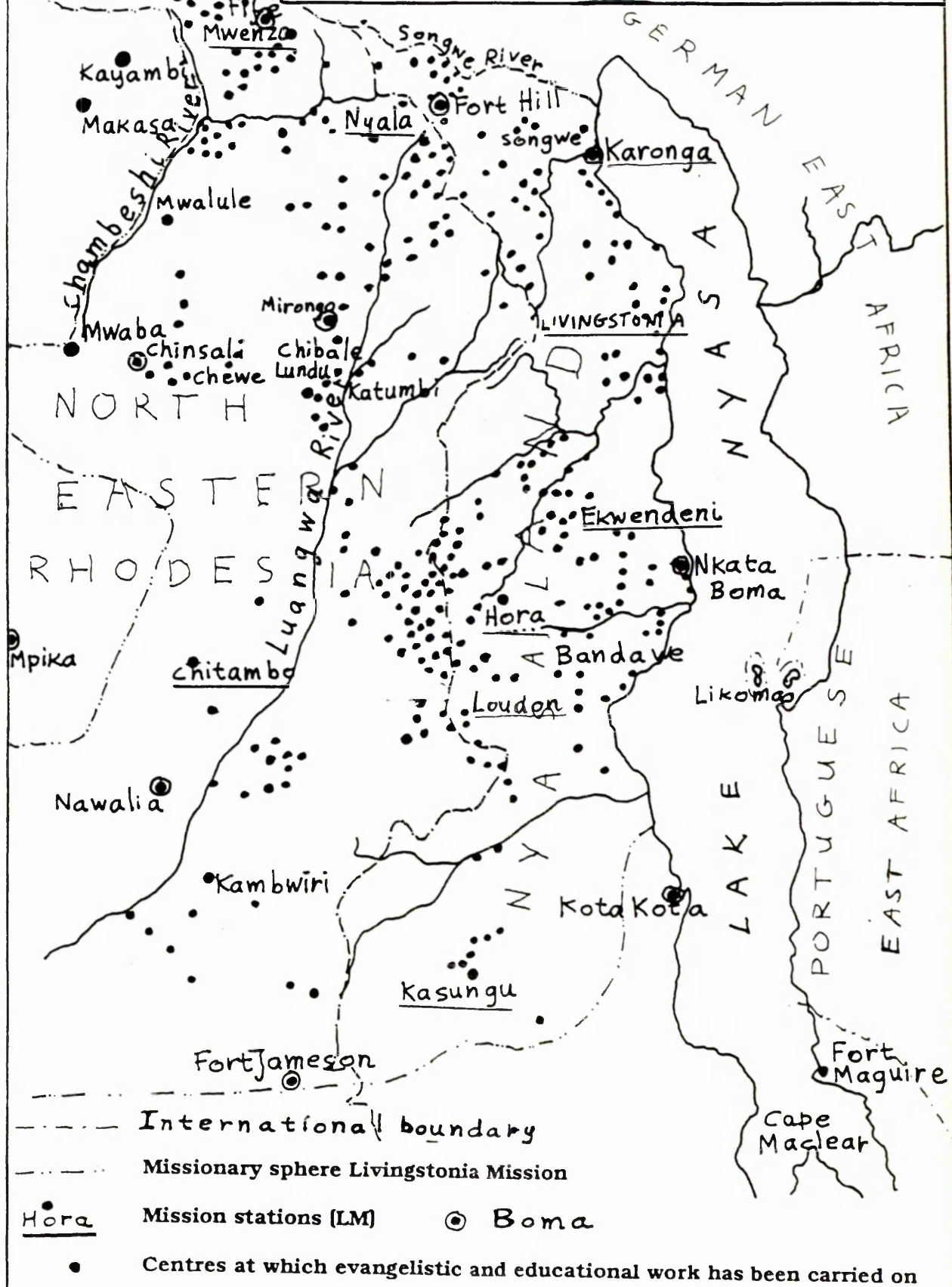
36. The women's organisation K.B.B.K., April 1980 (picture by author).

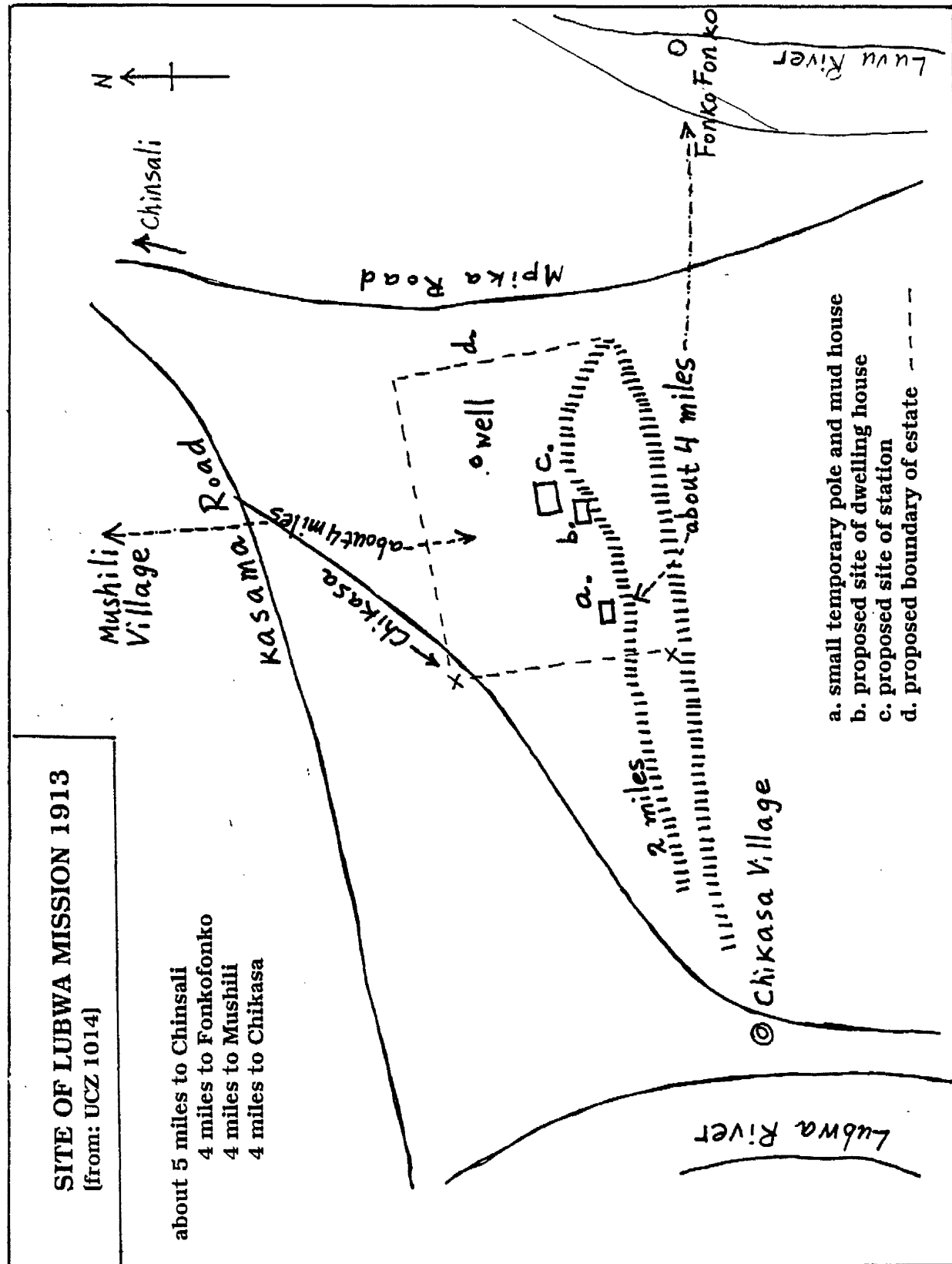


27. View on Lubwa Church, late 1960s (picture by Fergus Macpherson)

## LIVINGSTONIA MISSION:

## SPREAD OF ACTIVITIES BY 1905

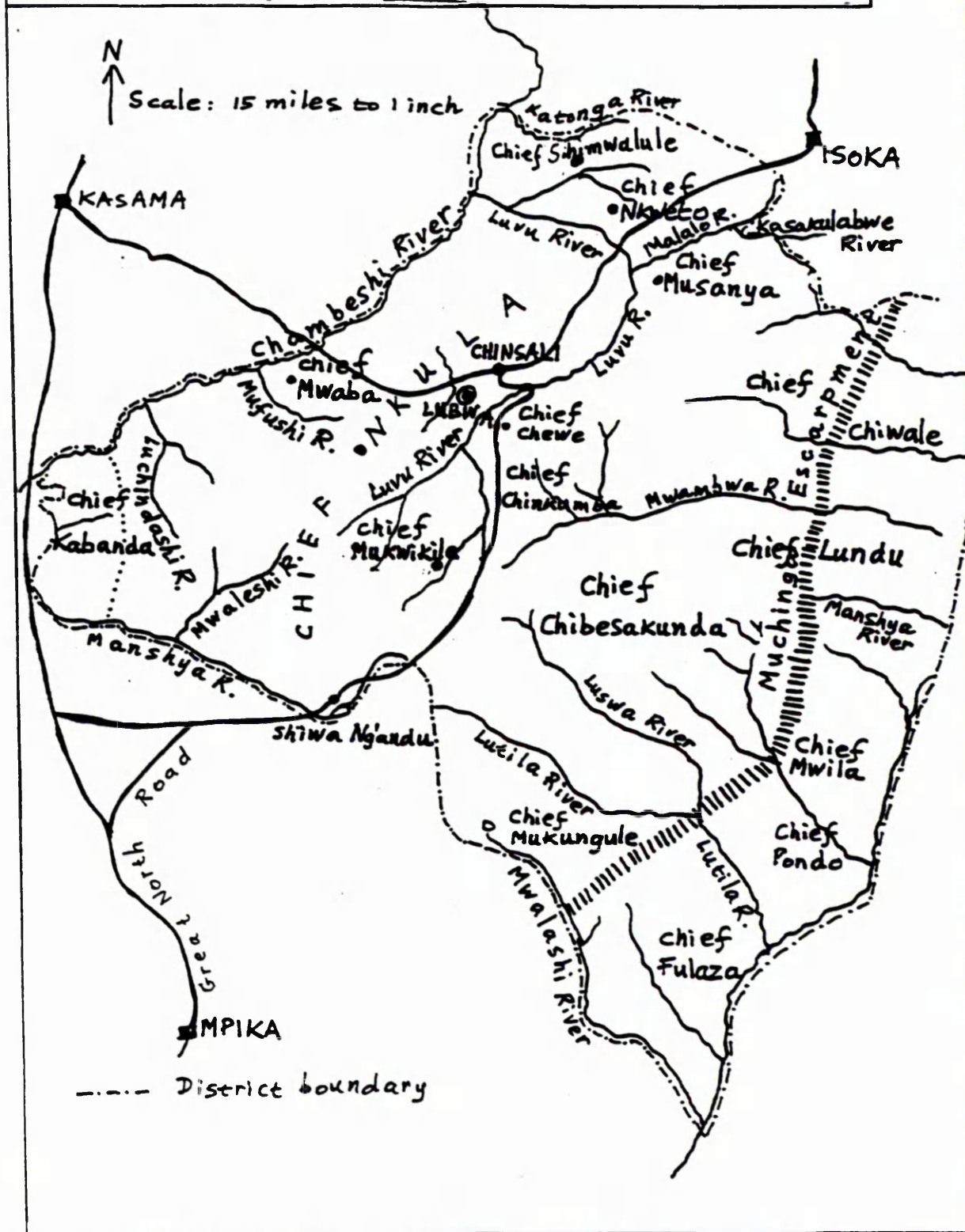
[from: *Livingstonia Mission Report for 1905*]





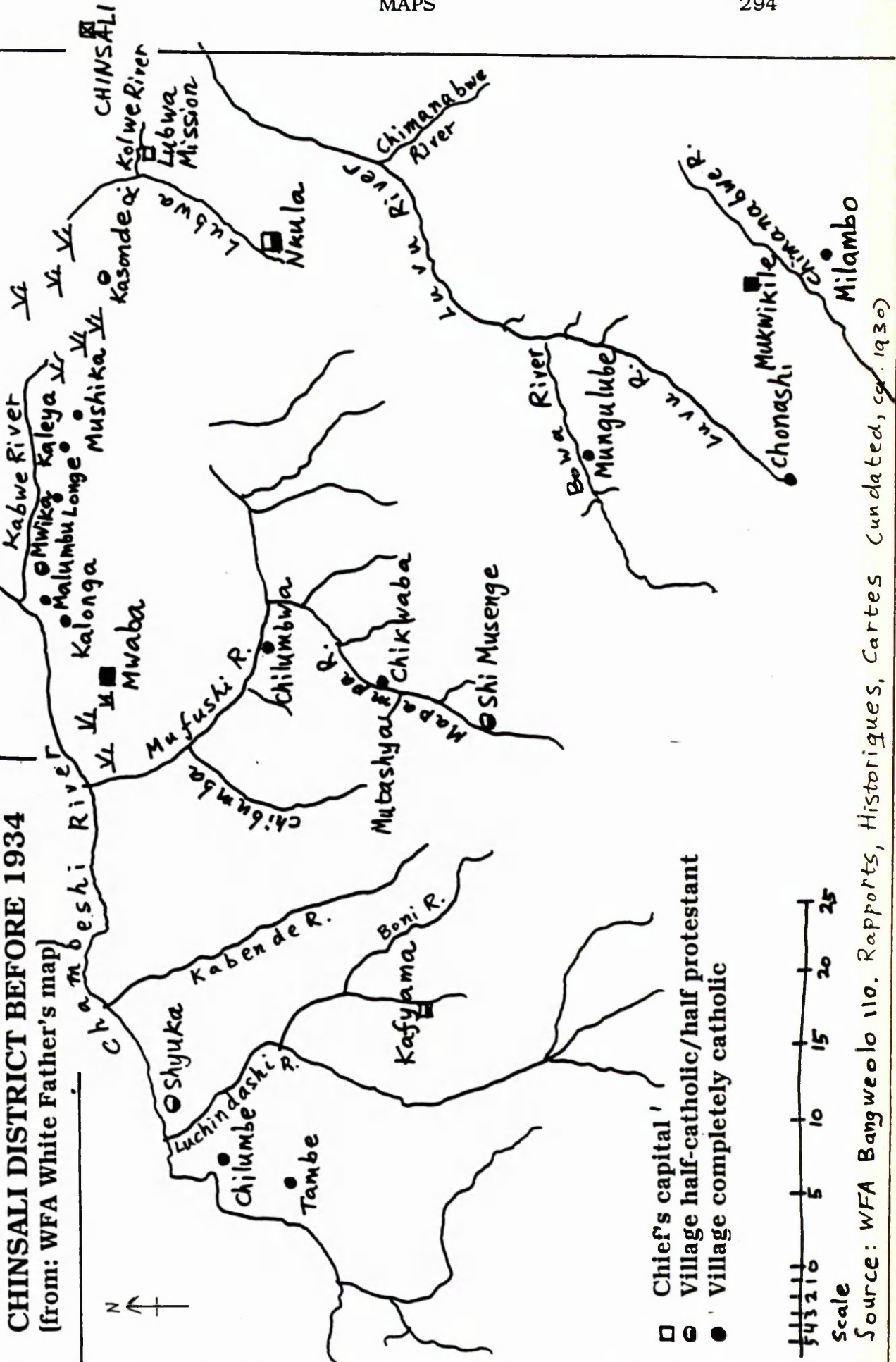
# CHINSALI DISTRICT

[from: E. Munday, 1931, in: NAZ ZA 1/15/0/1]



# ROMAN CATHOLIC ADVANCES IN CHINSALI DISTRICT BEFORE 1934

(from: WFA White Father's map)



- Chief's capital
- Village half-catholic/half protestant
- Village completely catholic

Scale  
0 5 10 15 20 25

Source: WFA Bangweolo 110. Rapports, Historiques, Cartes (undated, ca. 1930)



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